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TRANSLATIONS FROM KOMMUNIST  
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29 April 1977

## TRANSLATIONS FROM KOMMUNIST

No. 4, March 1977

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AT THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE CPSU

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 4, Mar 77 pp 3-7

[CPSU Central Committee Decree: "On Upgrading the Role of Oral Political Agitation in Implementing the Decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress"]

[Text] The decree notes that in their activities related to the communist education of the working people and their mobilization for the implementation of the decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress the party organizations make extensive use of the various forms of oral agitation along with the use of the press, television, radio, the political and economic education system, and lecture propaganda.

A big detachment of agitators, political informants, and speakers consisting of leading production workers, national economic specialists, and management cadres disseminate the party's word among the masses. They help the working people to master profoundly the concepts and conclusions of the report by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary, to the 25th CPSU Congress and his speech at the October 1976 Central Committee Plenum, and to clarify better the tasks of the labor collectives in the 10th Five-Year Plan and the individual contribution of every person to their implementation.

Relying on the party's traditions of oral political agitation, the party organizations are finding ever-newer and more effective ways and means to conduct it. Question and answer evenings, monthly simultaneous addresses to the population by leading personnel of krays, oblasts, cities, and rayons (single political days), trips to local areas by information-propaganda groups and agitation brigades, citizens' meetings, assemblies, and rallies, oral journals, labor glory and harvest ceremonies, celebrations in honor of competition winners, dedication of people as workers and kolkhoz members, meetings with party, war, and labor veterans, and other mass measures have become widespread.

Groups of speakers, frequently headed by first secretaries of party committees, are successfully working at party kraykoms, obkoms, gorkoms, and raykoms. The groups of political informants have proved their usefulness in interpreting topical problems of sociopolitical life. Tutorship has become an effective method for the professional training and political and moral education of the youth.

Yet, the CPSU Central Committee noted that the party committees are still not making full use of the possibilities offered by oral agitation in explaining the party's domestic and foreign policy, and the tasks of the labor collectives stemming from the decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress in promoting the further creative initiative and energy of the masses and developing the socialist competition.

The educational and cultural standards of the people, and the level of their information provided by the press, television, and radio are not always taken adequately into consideration in establishing the content of and organizing mass agitation work. Frequently talks, political information, and reports are limited to retelling universally known truths. They give no answer to questions of interest to the working people. They bypass topical problems of local life and moral education. They do not direct the attention to the elimination of existing shortcomings. There have been cases in which, focusing on increasing the number of agitators and political informants, the party organizations assign such work to poorly trained comrades. They do not instruct regularly their agitation aktiv. They do not give it the necessary guidance, reference materials, or methodical recommendations. They do not assign to it specific tasks topical to a given collective, city, or rayon. In some enterprises there are no agitation collectives at all.

Many party committees do not organize the planned work of speaker groups. They do not display the necessary exactingness toward party members, national economic specialists, or managers who have removed themselves from participation in educational work. Mass agitation work in residential areas is irregular and conducted mainly in periods of electoral campaigns. Poor use is being made of oral agitation channels in the study of public opinion, and the moods and requirements of the people, and for reacting operatively to their problems.

To a certain extent such shortcomings are the consequence of the lowered attention displayed by some party organizations toward oral agitation and a reflection of the erroneous view that its significance is reduced because of the existence of a widespread system of mass information and propaganda media. Oral agitation must be comprehensively improved in order to increase further the effectiveness of the political work conducted by the party organizations among the masses.

The CPSU Central Committee has made it incumbent upon the central committees of communist parties of union republics, party kraykoms, obkoms, gorkoms, and raykoms, and primary party organizations to take measures to upgrade the role of oral agitation in the ideological-political, labor, and moral education of the Soviet people, and their mobilization for the successful implementation of the decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress, and the tasks formulated by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev in the CPSU Central Committee Accountability Report to the congress, and his speech at the October 1976 CPSU Central Committee Plenum, and for welcoming properly the 60th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

The decree emphasizes that oral agitation has been, and remains, an important area of party activity, one of the active forms of the permanent ties between the party and the masses and for their rallying around the party and its Leninist Central Committee, as well as an effective instrument for political guidance. Based on live contacts with the people, with the help of specific and clear facts and examples close to and understood by the people, it enables us to describe the successes achieved in the building of communism, to explain party policy and decisions made by party and state organs, exert a tangible influence on the development of the competition and on upgrading the production and social activeness of the working people, to study the feelings of the masses and react to them promptly, to engage in a frank dialog with the public on shortcomings, difficulties, and ways to surmount them, and bring the party word to every person. The further development and improvement of political agitation is dictated by the need to adopt a comprehensive approach to the organization of the entire communist education as stipulated by the 25th CPSU Congress.

Political agitation must be considered one of the important means for raising the working people in the spirit of Marxist-Leninist outlook, communist conviction, and socialist patriotism and internationalism. We must see to it that mass agitation measures provide a prompt and qualified interpretation of occurring events and of problems developing among the working people, properly interest the people, excite their creative energy, and direct them toward upgrading labor productivity, production effectiveness, and work quality. The purpose of the party's word and of the labor and moral example of activists-agitators is to develop in the people a communist attitude toward labor and public ownership, and a feeling of responsibility for assignments. At the same time they must develop an atmosphere of intolerance toward any manifestation of lack of discipline, drunkenness, hooliganism, theft of the people's property, grabbing, parasitism, foul language, and other negative actions, and expose with proper arguments the slanderous fabrications of bourgeois propaganda.

The central committees of communist parties of union republics, and the party kraykoms, obkoms, gorkoms, and raykoms have been asked to improve the basic teams engaged in oral political agitation.

It has been deemed necessary to improve greatly the activities of agitation collectives set up by primary and shop party organizations, to insure the high quality of their work, and to avoid pursuit of quantitative indicators. Party members above all as well as the most prestigious non-party activists must be appointed as agitators. Foremen, brigade leaders, and other middle-level managers to whom such an important party assignment may be entrusted must be recruited more extensively as members of agitation collectives.

We must strengthen the structure of political informants by recruiting experienced and theoretically trained activists capable of skillfully discussing problems of the country's political, economic, and cultural life, and the international situation, and to interpret the principles and norms of communist morality and the Soviet way of life. The practice of setting up groups of political informants at party committees and bureaus of primary party organizations which do not have the proper cadres for such purpose has been approved.

It is important to develop comprehensively the Leninist tradition of the permanent and mandatory participation of management cadres in the political education of the working people, using for such purposes a variety of work methods. We must energize the activities of the groups of speakers of party raykoms, gorkoms, obkoms, and kraykoms, and central committees of communist parties of union republics. We must insure that managers regularly address the population on the work of the ministries, departments, enterprises, organizations, and establishments they head.

We must make fuller use of the possibilities offered by personal contacts with the people for the study and molding of public opinion. We must systematically sum up and analyze questions, suggestions, and critical remarks submitted by agitators, political informants, and speakers. We must respond to them operatively and inform the working people on the practical measures taken on their basis.

A recommendation has been issued to the party committees to take into consideration the specific nature of the labor activities of the people in the various economic sectors and parts of the country in terms of the organization and content of oral agitation. The attention is particularly directed to the organization of mass agitation work in remote areas without television reception, in new collectives, in sectors where women's labor predominates, in the service industry, in field camps and livestock farms, and in small collectives; attention is also directed to engaging in individual work with the people, the young people above all.

The decree stresses the need for planned and systematic mass-political work at places of residence, above all among population strata unrelated to labor collectives and among young people living in community houses. To this effect better use should be made of houses of culture, clubs, libraries, movie theaters, schools, red corners, and meeting halls of establishments.

The network of summer agitation areas should be broadened. Agitation work must be actively combined with mass cultural measures. It would be expedient to set up groups of consultants-activists at the public councils of microrayons to answer the questions of the working people, extensively recruiting for such work educators, jurists, physicians, cultural workers, and other specialists.

The central committees of communist parties of union republics, and the party kraykoms, obkoms, gorkoms, and raykoms have been asked to take measures to improve the operative instructing and theoretical and methodical training of agitators, political informants, and speakers.

The party committees must regularly draw up sample topics for talks, political information, and reports, coordinating them with articles in the press, television and radio broadcasts, and lectures. They must supply the party organizations with orientational and other materials on topical problems to assist political education activists.

The party committees and bureaus must insure the specific and efficient instructing of agitators and political informants, involving in this work skilled lecturers and heads of party, soviet, and economic authorities. The decree supports the initiative of the party organizations on organizing reference-information centers at enterprises, construction projects, kolkhozes and sovkhozes, and organizations and establishments.

It has been pointed out that agitators, political informants, and speakers should not be burdened by other social assignments and should be encouraged for doing active work.

The Marxist-Leninist education system will be used more extensively in training agitators and political informants. Political informant courses and seminars will become a structural part of the party training system. The courses on the foundations of Marxism-Leninism, attended by agitators, will teach the theory and methods of mass agitation work. The party gorkoms and raykoms, and the big party committees must organize permanent seminars for heads of agitation collectives. Special recommendations, programs, and curricula will be elaborated for such units. It has been also suggested to expand in the curricula of the party construction course offered by higher party schools, Marxism-Leninism universities, and party aktiv schools the study of political agitation problems.

The political education houses and offices have been entrusted with organizing the methodical aid to be given agitators and political informants, and the preparation for their use of reference-information materials and recommendations on the use in their agitation work of technical facilities and visual aids, and facilities for summing up their experience. Methodical councils on problems of mass agitation work must be set up at such houses and offices.

The tasks of the journal AGITATOR, and of the republic journals on political agitation problems, and the oblast BLOKNOT AGITATORA on providing systematic and qualified aid to agitators, political informants, and speakers, in accordance with their specific work and functions, have been formulated. Such publications must provide regularly sample topics for oral addresses, and methodical elaborations of talks on topical problems of party domestic and foreign policy, economic and cultural construction, and other instruction and information materials, based on the decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress, saturating them with proper arguments, interesting facts, figures, examples, and comparisons. The positive experience in mass agitation work must be disseminated more completely.

The editors of central and local newspapers must cover more extensively problems of mass agitation work, and party management practical experience in oral agitation. Politizdat has been asked to insure the publication of a textbook on oral political agitation, books for agitators, and other books and pamphlets summing up available experience and describing methods of mass agitation work. The CPSU Central Committee Academy of Social Sciences has been asked to include in its plans for scientific research the elaboration of theoretical and methodical problems of political agitation under present-day conditions.

5003  
CSO: 1802

SPEECH BY COMRADE L.I. BREZHNEV AT THE MEETING OF HEADS OF ACADEMIES OF SCIENCES OF SOCIALIST COUNTRIES

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 4, Mar 77 pp 8-11

[Speech by L.I. Brezhnev delivered on 17 February 1977]

[Text] Above all, dear Comrades, allow me to welcome you warmly. I would like to thank Anatoliy Petrovich Aleksandrov for his information on the joint work you have accomplished in Moscow.

Our party's Central Committee and the Central Committee Politburo highly value the fruitful relations which are developing between Soviet scientists and scientists from other socialist countries. As I had the occasion to say in the course of my visit to Hungary--when I met with the collective of Krasnyy Chepel'--that when it is a question of cooperation among socialist countries, it is not a simple addition but a multiplication of forces. This fully applies to scientific relations. In this field the broadest and closest cooperation is particularly important, as it enables us to make efficient use of the tremendous possibilities offered by science and of the achievements of the scientific and technical revolution in the interest of the building of socialism and communism.

I have no doubt that the decisions you will make on the development of scientific instrument-making, and on improving cooperation in the field of automation of scientific experimentation will yield great results, both scientific and economic.

The past congresses of ruling communist and worker parties called for resolving major problems, as mentioned here by Anatoliy Petrovich. Practically all fraternal socialist countries are currently focusing their attention on upgrading production effectiveness and quality. This in itself determines the increased role of science in the life of society and in the implementation of the historical task set by V. I. Lenin--reaching a social labor productivity higher than that of the capitalist society.

Allow me to emphasize that our party's Central Committee pays constant attention to the development of Soviet science. Quite recently the Secretariat of the party's Central Committee held a thorough discussion of the work of the Ukrainian SSR Academy of Sciences, and the USSR Academy of Sciences Siberian Department. The choice of topic was not accidental. Both units have already acquired a certain experience important to others.

The Ukrainian SSR Academy of Sciences is purposefully directing its scientific research to helping industry and agriculture. The collectives of Ukrainian scientific research institutes have developed a number of progressive technological processes, and essentially new production equipment. Planning on a coordinated basis all operations, ranging from a scientific idea to its practical implementation, the Ukrainian scientists are substantially shortening the time needed for the practical utilization of the results of scientific research.

It has been estimated that each ruble invested in the development of science within the system of the Ukrainian SSR Academy of Sciences yields returns worth five rubles. It makes sense to invest one ruble and earn five.

The USSR Academy of Sciences Siberian Department has acquired rather interesting experience. The institutes of this department are directly linked with a number of national economic sectors and big enterprises. They have formulated long-term programs for scientific and technical cooperation and are fulfilling them systematically. At the present time the ministries are setting up 10 design bureaus (six of them are already in operation) next to Akademgorodok. Their work is greatly assisted by the scientists.

Every year hundreds and thousands of scientific discoveries are applied in our industry and agriculture. Many such examples could be cited. Let us mention one. The Mironovskiy Scientific Research Institute is located in the Ukraine. It employs our outstanding scientist Vasiliy Nikolayevich Remeslo. The wheat strains developed by this institute have earned the country in excess of 1.6 billion rubles.

We deem it necessary, comprehensively encouraging the development of basic science, to be concerned with organically linking it with applied research and to accelerate the utilization of scientific discoveries in the national economy. This is a most important task. Understandably, big scientific problems occasionally require a great deal of time for their solution and extensive efforts by scientific collectives. We must admit, however, that dry sterile branches also exist in the living healthy science tree. There are also cases of research being conducted along some entirely peripheral or simply fruitless directions.

Therefore, to go back to the discussion of the work of the Ukrainian SSR Academy of Sciences and the Siberian Department of the Academy of Sciences, allow me to point out that, having approved and supported in its decisions the experience of the Ukrainians and the Siberians, our party's Central Committee has emphasized the importance of showing constant concern for the effective conversion of science into a direct productive force. The CPSU Central Committee has called for intensifying efforts to resolve the problems of scientific and technical progress and concentration of scientific research on the most topical problems.

Our country has a tremendous scientific potential. Anatoliy Petrovich probably spoke to you on the amount of expenditures for science in our country. Such expenditures are indeed growing rapidly. It seems to me, however, that the word "expenditures" would not be entirely accurate in this case, for when it is a question of the work of true scientists and of the study of problems of truly scientific or national economic interest, for each invested ruble, forint, or crown the state and society acquire substantial gains.

Naturally, it would be wrong to assess science only in terms of material indicators. Science plays a major role in the molding of a scientific, i.e., Marxist-Leninist outlook. It has important ideological aspects. It is pleasing that problems of intensifying cooperation in the realm of the social sciences as well were discussed in the course of your meeting.

We must always remember that a scientific approach is a mandatory requirement for the proper solution of problems of national economic management, and for the management of the state and the elaboration of the directions of domestic and foreign policy.

The socialist world is developing tempestuously and the reality of the socialist countries offers abundant food for scientific thought. We know that despite the tremendous variety of conditions under which socialism is being built by a big group of countries, the general laws governing the development of socialism, which appeared first in the practical experience of our country, are being confirmed quite convincingly. I would like to emphasize, however, that as we gain experience the very concept of the general laws governing the building of socialism and communism is becoming deeper and more comprehensive. Furthermore, new phenomena, and new processes requiring a scientific interpretation from Marxist-Leninist positions arise constantly.

We know that unanimous agreement was reached at the 30th CEMA session on the elaboration of long-term target programs. Such an intensified interaction among socialist countries raises a number of new questions and faces us with new problems for whose solution there is simply no precedent.

They include problems of developing an optimal structure of the national economy, specialization and cooperation on the scale of the key production sectors of a number of socialist countries, and the rational distribution of production forces. They include problems related to the establishment of international socialist joint production facilities demanding the elaboration of the legal and economic norms to govern their activities.

In a word, a large number of questions exist here and profound Marxist-Leninist scientific research should greatly contribute to their answers.

Let us take a problem such as equalizing the levels of economic development of the socialist states, a problem which is being practically resolved within the framework of the socialist comity. As you realize, this is also a problem of major political and scientific interest.

All these are merely individual examples taken from the vast and many-sided process of rapprochement among socialist countries, which is now manifesting itself as a law in the development of the socialist world.

It is obvious to us that its artificial acceleration, and urging-on would be erroneous. However, restraining and hindering it would also be wrong. The need for the comprehensive study of this process and of many of the problems of the development of the world socialist system calls for the establishment of proper cooperation among the scientific forces of the socialist countries.

Meeting you, I cannot fail to mention the fact that the scientists of the socialist countries are justifiably proud of the role which they play in the social progress of mankind. This noble role is linked with your immediate work which is so important to the economy and culture and to strengthening the defense capability of the socialist states.

This role stems from the active participation of the scientists of the socialist countries in the solution of the global problems facing mankind at the present time. Such is the situation when it becomes a question of environmental protection, the solution of the energy problems, saving mankind from the most dangerous diseases, and so on.

Naturally, this is determined by the active participation of the scientists from the socialist countries in the struggle for strengthening the peace, eliminating the threat of a nuclear war, and developing international cooperation. We cannot fail to be pleased by the fact that the scientists of the socialist countries are actively supporting the peaceful foreign policy pursued by the members of the socialist comity and are actively supporting the unification of the efforts of scientists throughout the world for the sake of the durable peaceful future of all peoples on earth.

The Great October Socialist Revolution raised high the banner of peace and free toil six decades ago. Many great victories were won under this flag. We are pleased and inspired by the fact that the peoples of the socialist countries are approaching the great anniversary of the Great October Revolution closely united, and that our cooperation in all areas, including science, is becoming evermore intensive.

I have mentioned merely the most essential aspects related to the development of science. Naturally, not everything could be covered.

In conclusion, I wish you, dear Comrades, great creative successes in your work. I am confident that the cooperation among the academies of sciences of the socialist countries will bring about new scientific discoveries in the interest of peace and socialism and of all mankind.

5003

CSO: 1802

## PEOPLE'S GOOD--SUPREME OBJECTIVE OF PARTY POLICY

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 4, Mar 77 pp 12-24

[Review of the book "Izbrannyye Rechi i Stat'i" [Selected Speeches and Articles] by A. P. Kirilenko. Politizdat, Moscow, 1976, 511 pages]

[Text] Having built a developed socialist society, the Leninist party and the Soviet people are resolving tremendous problems. The successes in the building of communism, and the consolidation of the turn toward detente were achieved through the selfless efforts of all Soviet people. The party and the people highly value the contribution of the working people to the common struggle for the happiness and blossoming of our great homeland and for the sake of peace and progress.

For the past 20 years Comrade A. P. Kirilenko has been a member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo. As member of the party's leadership, headed by Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev, Central Committee general secretary, and outstanding political figure of our time, he is directly and actively participating in the elaboration and implementation of the great plans for the building of communism and for the implementation of the party's domestic and foreign policy.

The most important aspects of A. P. Kirilenko's fruitful activities, covering the period between 1965 and 1976, have been included in the book containing his speeches and articles published by Politizdat.

Here the vital and basic problems of CPSU policy find a profound substantiation and are brought to light convincingly and vividly. The book's content reflects the variety, complexity, and greatness of the problems resolved by the Soviet people under the party's wise leadership at the developed socialist stage.

In his report to the 25th CPSU Congress Comrade L. I. Brezhnev described economics, economic policy, as one of the decisive sectors in the building of communism. In A. P. Kirilenko's book the problems of socioeconomic

progress in the developed socialist society, of the upgraded effectiveness of the entire national economy of the USSR, which is the material base for the reorganization of social relations, the blossoming of culture, and the all-round development of the individual occupy the main place. The thought of the need to make the economic mechanism, management, technical policy, and quality of production activities consistent with the demands of the time and the solution of the historically important problem of organically combining the achievements of the scientific and technical revolution with the advantages of the socialist system runs throughout the collection. The maximal discovery and utilization of such advantages is the historical task of the developed socialist society which must put the power of the scientific and technical revolution to the service of communism.

"Turning to the basic problems whose solution determines the substantial upgrading of quantitative and qualitative production indicators," A. P. Kirilenko emphasized in his speech at the ceremonies held in Ufa on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the founding of Soviet Bashkiriya, "and the entire establishment of the material and technical foundations for communism, let us name among them, above all, the acceleration of scientific and technical progress. To us this is not only an economic but a political problem. By its very nature the progressive social system can and must be leading also in the development of the scientific and technical revolution, and in the utilization of its results. Competition in this field will influence to an ever-greater extent the course of the struggle between the conflicting socioeconomic systems" (page 112). This statement is characteristic of the entire collection: the topical tasks of economic construction are directly linked with the universal-historical mission of mature socialism and the solution of the global problems of social development.

At the same time, the economic problems as formulated in A. P. Kirilenko's speeches are distinguished by their maximal concreteness and purposefulness, and related to the vital necessities of the time. The content of the speeches and articles in the collection enables us to trace, with documentary accuracy, the way the party's economic and social policy has been rising toward new heights, enriching itself with the new creative achievements of Marxist-Leninist revolutionary thought, and the way it has opened to the Soviet people ever-new horizons for comprehensive social progress.

The author proves that under socialism the growth of output is not a self-seeking aim. The reasons governing the shaping of CPSU economic policy are fully determined by the unity between party and people and concern for the people's daily interests and long-term objectives. "Our party," notes A. P. Kirilenko, "has no greater objective than that of improving the living conditions of the people" (page 92). The party has always been guided by this objective. However, in the stage of developed socialism adequate economic possibilities have been established for the accelerated satisfaction of the growing material and spiritual needs of the working people. This conclusion was drawn at the 24th CPSU Congress and confirmed and

developed at its 25th congress. Planning the further considerable growth of the prosperity of the working people, the author states, our party pays particular attention to the qualitative aspect of the population's life. It is a question of the fact that the planning of consumption in a socialist society may not be reduced merely to supplying the working people with the necessary material goods but must be oriented toward the creation of the most favorable conditions for the life, work, and recreation of the person, the manifestation of all his capabilities, and the all-round development of the personality.

That is why the Leninist Party pays prime attention to the progress of the socialist economy and that only a solid material foundation could provide the necessary conditions for the development and satisfaction of the higher social and spiritual needs of the new man. The living and working conditions of the Soviet people and the ever fuller satisfaction of their material needs have always stood in the party's focal point of attention. At the same time we ascribe tremendous significance to the satisfaction of the growing spiritual needs of the people, and to everything contributing to their all-round development, the author notes. It is precisely the dynamically developing economic foundation that insures such a valuable acquisition of the new society as the Soviet way of life. "The socialist way of life includes very essential features which cannot be expressed at all through figures. They include confidence in the future, possibility to work creatively, to study, to enjoy all the benefits of culture, and to live and work in the type of moral atmosphere in which relations of comradely mutual aid and concern for and attention to the people have become the norm" (page 458).

The further accelerated growth of the socialist economy and the reorganization of all its units to meet the requirements of the time and the specific conditions of the developed socialist society which, in itself, is the threshold of the higher communist phase and, therefore, which could improve only on the basis of Marxist-Leninist science, aim at the achievement of such great objectives. In this connection the October 1964 CPSU Central Committee Plenum is of enduring significance. It laid "the foundations of the contemporary political course pursued by the party, consistent with the conditions of a developed socialist society, the ripe needs of the building of communism and the new circumstances in the world" (page 361). After it, and directly in connection with the spirit of its decisions, the party accomplished a tremendous deal of creative work by elaborating a profoundly scientific, clear, and concrete program for the building of the material and technical foundations for communism and for the all-round improvement of all realms of life in our socialist society. Thus, the party's contemporary agrarian policy was formulated at the March 1965 Central Committee Plenum. The basic ways for the reorganization of the economic mechanism were formulated at the September 1965 plenum and the 23rd party congress. The overall orientation in the socioeconomic development of the country on a long-term basis, elaborated in

the decisions of the 24th congress, was creatively developed and raised to a new level in the "Report of the CPSU Central Committee and the Forthcoming Party Tasks in Domestic and Foreign Policy," presented by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev at the 25th CPSU Congress.

The process of the party's creative elaboration of a socioeconomic policy and the specific formulation of the tasks facing the party members and all working people in our country, and the acquisition and profoundly scientific interpretation of the new historical experience are presented clearly and emphatically in the work.

After the 24th CPSU Congress, when the party faced the task of introducing the congress resolutions in the daily constructive activities of the masses and in contemporary economic thought, the general party views in the field of economic policy as expressed in the speeches by A. P. Kirilenko assumed the features of specific assignments facing party and economic authorities, workers, and engineers.

In the Ninth Five-Year Plan, in the course of implementing the decisions of the 24th CPSU Congress, the party and the people gained new priceless experience in improving the economy and upgrading its effectiveness. The main links related to the solution of this great problem were determined. "The party," A. P. Kirilenko wrote, "indicates the two main levers whose use would enable us, under contemporary conditions, to raise all economic construction to a new level: first, the acceleration of scientific and technical progress and, second, improving the mechanism of economic management and economic methods. The party is directing the attention and creative efforts of the working people, of all our cadres to the effective utilization of these levers" (page 414).

A profound study of the ways for upgrading production effectiveness under contemporary conditions and the interpretation of the results of economic practice and creative research enabled the party to draw the conclusion that improving management in the broadest meaning of the term is the decisive link in insuring further economic upsurge.

This means, above all, a conversion to production and scientific-production associations in industry and the specialization and concentration of agricultural production on the basis of inter-farm cooperation and agro-industrial integration. Thanks to this the management structure becomes more reliable and flexible and the new powerful cost accounting units assume greater economic effectiveness and the possibility to resolve complex problems of socioeconomic development and to upgrade more independently the scientific and technical standards of output. The work of collectives of Leningrad associations such as Pozitron, Svetlana, and LOMO, A. P. Kirilenko has pointed out, yields substantial economic results: growth of labor productivity, sharp increase in capital returns, and improved production quality.

Improved management also consists of substantially reorienting economic cadres which must think as innovators and master the Leninist science of management. It is precisely the obsolete style of thinking and obsolete economic management methods that considerably account for the fact that the problems of insuring a decisive upsurge in production effectiveness are being resolved more slowly than we would like it, while the tremendous resources at the disposal of our society are not always used with adequate productivity. A critical analysis of the shortcomings in a number of economic construction sectors in the first four years of the Ninth Five-Year Plan showed that "the growth rates of labor productivity are unsatisfactory at a number of enterprises. Capital returns in a number of industrial sectors remain low. A considerable percentage of newly completed enterprises did not reach planned capacity within the stipulated deadlines and are working below capacity. Year after year a number of collectives fail to fulfill their plans for the installation of new equipment and for the mechanization and automation of production processes, auxiliary operations in particular" (page 414).

Today the development of economic thinking by all workers and the formulation of new requirements facing economic cadres which must steadily master the scientific foundations of management and apply in their practical work the party style of economic management has become a demand of the times. "To learn how to manage," the author emphasizes, "means not only to master the necessary amount of contemporary knowledge but also find within one's self the courage and resolve to abandon yesterday's obsolete work norms and habits" (pages 429-430). The struggle for the implementation of party decisions, for accelerating the creation of the material and technical foundations for communism, and for the reorganization of all units within the economic mechanism on the basis of modern science is a task of prime significance. "We must proceed from the fact that upgrading social production effectiveness and improving our economic activities as a whole are long-term tasks in the creation of the material and technical foundations for communism. The creation of this foundation, as the entire process of the building of communism, requires maximal creativity and active support and dissemination of everything that is new and progressive created by the initiative of the masses and by scientific and technical progress" (page 451).

Related to this is yet another direction of party work in that of upgrading the level of all economic construction, a direction of particular importance. It is a question of developing the initiative of the masses in the course of the nationwide socialist competition. In the final account, the success of the party's economic policy is secured precisely by mass creativity--by the conscientious and selfless toil of the entire Soviet people.

Very close attention is paid in the work to the problems of the steady development of socialist competition and to the summation and dissemination of the experience of the creativity of the masses. The author points out that the tremendous role of competition in the development of the socialist

society is not measured merely by economic successes. Summing up the acquired experience, the party's Central Committee is adamantly pursuing a course of further development and increased effectiveness of the competition as a powerful force for production upsurge and the most important means for the education of the masses.

The growth of the labor and sociopolitical activeness of the Soviet people is one of the most essential laws and main advantages of the new society revealed evermore fully at the stage of developed socialism. The force of the organized creativity of the masses is a reliable guarantee for the successful implementation of the profoundly scientific and truly nationwide policy of the CPSU. The author pays close attention to the establishment and improvement of a truly party style in the management of economic construction and at all levels of economic management. "Today it is more important than ever," he emphasizes, "for the economic manager to be able to implement systematically the party line, clearly realizing that the achievement of production successes at enterprises calls for maintaining and developing the most favorable circumstances of creative surge, displaying constant concern for the working people, comprehensively contributing to the manifestation of the initiative of the working people, and insuring their extensive participation in the administration of production and social affairs. The all-round development of the initiative of the masses and their conscientious toil for the good of society are decisive prerequisites for new victories in the building of communism" (pages 430-431).

Today this powerful source for the growth and development of our society is acting with growing strength. With legitimate pride Comrade L. I. Brezhnev noted in his speech at the October 1976 Central Committee Plenum that "the party's domestic and foreign policy meets with the warm support of all party members, of the entire Soviet people." The Soviet people have faith in their party and prove this faith through their actions and their selfless toil.

2

Today, at the stage of developed socialism, the effective constructive activities of the people's masses rallied around the CPSU, equipped with its scientific ideology, and building under its guidance new superior forms of organization of social life are greater than ever. The reality of our society proves this every day and every hour. In the course of the successful building of communism and of its material and technical base the energy of the masses, the creative possibilities of socialist democracy, and the inspiring force of Marxist-Leninist ideas, which ennoble man and lead him to new heights of science and culture and, finally, the great mobilizing activities of the Communist Party, directing the labor efforts of the people and the creative possibilities of the new society toward reaching the universal-historical objective--the building of communism--merge within a single channel.

The problems of upgrading the energy and conscientiousness of the masses under the conditions of the further development of socialist democracy and in the process of communist upbringing, the molding of the new man, and the problem of enhancing in the developed socialist society the role and influence of the party--the political leader of the Soviet people--and its revolutionary theory are covered in the book with impressive fullness, depth, and concreteness. The author clearly depicts the humanistic nature of socialist democracy which insures the equality of all working people and all nations and nationalities in the USSR. He describes the beneficial influence on developing the creative activeness of the members of society of the healthy ideological and moral atmosphere for whose creation and development our party is always concerned. The CPSU considers the development of socialist democracy an important means for the fuller utilization of the creative possibilities of our society and for surmounting existing negative phenomena and shortcomings. Socialist democracy means not only the steady broadening of the rights and freedoms of the individual filled with a real content but also the systematic energizing of the numerous sociopolitical activities of the Soviet people aimed at insuring the further progress of the entire organization of their social life.

The essence of socialist democracy lies in insuring the interrelated and interdependent interests of the individual and society, the coordinated development of the freedom of the individual with social discipline, and the ever fuller involvement of the working people in the administration of the state, the production process, and all social affairs. "Socialist democracy means extensive social rights whose use is guaranteed by our entire system, as well as the specific obligations of the citizens, high-level organization, and conscientious labor discipline" (page 158). The broader and fuller the norms of socialist democracy become in all realms of our social life, and the more strongly they penetrate the life and customs of the Soviet people, and the more tightly rights and duties interpenetrate, the greater will be the number of citizens whose inner behavioral motivations will be based on the norms and values of the socialist way of life.

Socialist democracy creates not only favorable objective conditions for molding the communist convictions of the Soviet people but a truly comradely atmosphere which contributes to the development of all forces and capabilities of the individual and all forms of creativity--social, scientific, technical, and artistic. "Truly favorable conditions exist for creative work, and for the blossoming of talents in our country. This means, above all, an outstanding pure and clear moral and political atmosphere created as a result of the party's steady implementation of the Leninist principles in all fields of social life" (page 188). The results of such systematic party work conducted over the past 12 years are being tangibly felt by all Soviet people.

The continuing improvement of socialist democracy, the establishment and strengthening of a healthy ideological-moral atmosphere at all levels of our society, the visible growth of the confidence and optimism of the Soviet people, the steady enhancement of their labor and sociopolitical activeness, and the development of their creative forces and talents are the great achievements of the adamant, purposeful, and truly Leninist activities of the Communist Party headed by the Central Committee, the Central Committee Politburo, and, personally, by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev. The work clearly reflects such many-faceted activities of the CPSU which is heading and guiding the sociohistorical creativity of the entire Soviet people.

The years covered in the collection constitute an inordinately vivid period in the history of our party and the development of our society as a whole. The practice and historical experience of these years most clearly show that the basic principle governing the entire policy of our party is involving the working people in the administration of production and governmental affairs. The CPSU is systematically following a line of all-round development of popular rule, strengthening the all-national socialist state, and improving socialist democracy. It is the main initiator and guarantor of its advancement. "The party encompasses the most politically conscientious and active forces of society," the author notes. "This enables it to be the collective brain of the people, to rally together all classes and social groups and nations and nationalities in the USSR, and to be the inspirer and organizer of the nationwide struggle for the building of communism" (page 231).

Uncompromisingly defending the interests of the working people and the noble objectives of social progress, the Leninist Party proceeds from the systematically revolutionary positions of the working class--the most progressive class of our time--and embodies the truly scientific principles of Marxism-Leninism. The collection materials describe in detail the growing role of the CPSU under the conditions of mature socialism as the political leader of the entire Soviet people as well as its organizational and ideological-educational activities based on the creative development of revolutionary theory.

Loyalty to the principles of Marxism-Leninism, and constant concern for its development, and enrichment on the basis of new sociohistorical practice are guarantees for the victory of the cause of communism and for success in the party's various activities. "The prestige and influence of the revolutionary Marxist-Leninist doctrine are determined, above all, by its veracity and creative nature, and by the fact that it reflects profoundly the laws governing social development and occurring social changes, providing accurate guidelines in all our work," said A. P. Kirilenko in his speech on the occasion of the 56th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution. "Relying on the classical heritage of K. Marx, F. Engels, and V. I. Lenin, and on the achievements of science and practice, the party and its Central Committee are tirelessly working on the solution of the topical theoretical problems of the building of communism and the world's revolutionary process.

The documents of party congresses, the CPSU Central Committee decrees, and the addresses by the heads of the party and the Soviet state contain theoretical summations of the experience of our domestic and international activities, which are added to the treasury of Marxism-Leninism and upgrade its effectiveness and practical significance" (page 303).

The party's loyalty to Leninism is of basic importance in understanding all its activities. The CPSU always emphasizes that Lenin's ideological and theoretical heritage is the basis of all the work done today by the communists on the interpretation of sociohistorical processes, and a living base for the elaboration of political decisions. Leninism is the Marxism of the contemporary epoch. Revolutionary theory can be protected from attempts to replace it with "national variants" and policy by empiricism and by national-egotistical or dogmatic-phrase mongering distortions only by following strictly the principles of Leninism and the ideas of the great Lenin. The author expressed this with great emphasis in his speech at the ceremony held on the occasion of the 97th anniversary of V. I. Lenin's birth, at the Kremlin's Palace of Congresses. Lenin's ideas, he said, illuminate each day in the life of our people and every step it takes on the path to the great objective--communism. Determining the basic directions of its domestic and foreign policy, and earmarking the most effective ways for resolving problems related to economic and cultural construction, our party and its Central Committee are steadfastly following Lenin's behests. The builders of the new society in the socialist countries, and the fraternal communist and worker parties seek and find in Lenin answers to the problems they face. Lenin's ideas inspire the fighters for social progress, national independence, democracy, and lasting peace, and against imperialism and reaction.

The living Leninist thoughts pulsate in the party's doctrine of the developed socialist society--the stage which directly precedes the transition to the higher communist phase. This is confirmed by the results of the creative activities of the CPSU in the field of Marxist-Leninist theory, reflected in the decisions passed at recent party congresses. One of the highest achievements of Marxist-Leninist revolutionary thought was the "Report of the CPSU Central Committee and the Forthcoming Party Tasks in the Field of Domestic and Foreign Policy," presented by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev at the 25th congress. "The theory and practice of scientific communism," A. P. Kirilenko says, "were enriched with new concepts and conclusions without which, henceforth, it would be impossible to imagine the contemporary ideological and political arsenal of the communists. The speech shows ways for the all-round progress of our country on a long-term basis and formulates a program for the further struggle for peace and international cooperation and for the freedom and independence of the peoples. This is a true manifesto of the developed socialist society, a document which captivates the imagination with the greatness of plans and clarity of prospects. It is a document imbued with the aspiration toward the highest objective--communism" (pages 475-476).

The entire daily organizational and ideological-political activity of the CPSU--a great, powerful, and continually developing organism--is based on such a fruitful ideological and theoretical foundation. Under contemporary conditions, the author notes, "the party is the heart and the organizer of the Soviet people. It is its militant vanguard. Concerned with improving all our constructive work, with strengthening the international fraternal friendship among the peoples of our country, and with the fuller utilization of the creative possibilities inherent in the socialist system, the party organs and organizations are also improving their own activities and styles and methods, and the qualitative structure of party ranks" (page 159).

The author states that a turning point in the solution of these problems was the October 1964 CPSU Central Committee Plenum, which "opened broad possibilities for fruitful and creative work. The plenum decisions reflected with new strength the concern of our party for maintaining the inviolability of the Leninist policy consistent with the interests of the people and with the strict observance of the Leninist norms of party life and management principles" (page 31). All subsequent party activities in this direction, under the leadership of the Central Committee, have contributed to the creative development of the Leninist theory of the party and the Leninist principles of party construction, and to upgrading the combat capability of party organizations and insuring the noticeable increase in the effectiveness of their practical work. Today our party has established all the necessary conditions for the normal work of the collective leading authorities and for the free expression of the views and desires of party members in resolving problems of party policy and the development of principle-minded criticism and self-criticism. Intraparty information has been improved. This enables the party members to approach more knowledgeably the solution of arising problems and to assess the results of their work and events in social life. The CPSU Central Committee is doing everything possible to maintain always in the party an atmosphere of trust and respect for the people and to encourage their creative initiatives. Such an atmosphere helps us to upgrade the activeness of the party organizations and their prestige and influence among the masses. It increases the requirements facing the party members as well as the significance of Leninist Party membership.

The increased role of the Communist Party in all realms of social life is largely secured by the daily work and example given by every party member and party organization. The CPSU Central Committee and its Politburo and Secretariat pay tireless attention to the education of all party members and to the development of cadres, checking requirements against the activities of the party members enjoying the trust of the party and against the new conditions and new social demands. "Our invariable principle in cadre selection, based on political and business qualities," writes the author, "demands, in the present period, the promotion to leading positions of people whose ideological and thorough theoretical training is combined with a profound knowledge of their skill, broad professional outlook, and a developed feeling for the new" (page 234).

A creative spirit, innovation, and critical elimination of everything obsolete are firmly inherent in all CPSU activities. It is no accident that at recent party congresses and in their decision such great attention has been paid to the development of criticism and self-criticism. Under contemporary conditions, in connection with the expanded scale and increased complexity of implemented tasks, a conversion to intensive economic management methods, and a turn toward quality indicators in all realms of work criticism and self-criticism are assuming ever greater importance as a means for raising the level of organizational and ideological-educational work. This creates conditions for increasing the effectiveness of the communist education of the Soviet people.

The molding of the new man and of his communist convictions is one of the main party tasks in the building of the new society. The author deals extensively with such matters. Ideological-political work, he emphasizes, becomes the more fruitful the more firmly it relies on the creative development of Marxist-Leninist doctrine. In terms of forms, methods, and content it must be consistent with the demands of the time and the growing spiritual demands of the working people. It must contribute to the solution of the great problems involved in building a communist society and achieving the victory of socialism in the historical confrontation between the two world systems. Under such circumstances it plays the role of a powerful factor for the acceleration of social progress.

As was pointed out at the 24th and 25th party congresses, the class principles of communist education are of enduring significance. Communist morality is asserted in the course of the uncompromising struggle with its opposites. It is particularly important here to direct the attention and efforts of the entire society on surmounting the vestiges of the past which conflict with the nature of our social system. The author reminds us of the tasks of the struggle against the vestiges from the past. "No one has the right to forget," he states, "that all types of recurrences of private ownership mentality, petty individualism and parasitism, and any manifestation of antisocial behavior, including drunkenness and hooliganism are incompatible with the norms of the Soviet way of life" (page 301). The elimination of all negative phenomena from social relations, the enhancement of social consciousness and of the spiritual life of the Soviet people to a higher level, and the intensification of party ideological and educational work are essentially important aspects in the building of communism and in insuring the triumph of its ideals. The interests of economic development and the communist education of the working people demand the continuing improvement of organizational-party and ideological work. The dissemination of our ideals and topical tasks of economic and cultural construction must be conducted among the masses purposefully, clearly, and inventively. We must adamantly surmount the vestiges from the past. We must expose the lies and slanders against socialism on the part of enemy propaganda. We must aggressively fight all varieties of bourgeois and revisionist ideology. The molding of a communist outlook increases the creative potential of the

Soviet people. "The mastery of political knowledge, Marxism-Leninism, and the broadening of the cultural outlook help the people to participate in the solution of production problems and in the administration of the state with greater knowledge of the subjects" (page 158).

The significance of party ideological activities becomes particularly greater today when contacts between countries with opposite social systems are intensifying and when the conditions of the ideological struggle become more complex while the activities of anticommunists and anti-Soviet propaganda become more energetic and refined. Clarifying the meaning of events in contemporary international life, world development trends, class principles, and the humanistic content of the foreign policy of the CPSU and the Soviet state has a tremendous impact on the minds and the hearts of the people not only in our country but far beyond its borders. Problems of worldwide importance are affecting to an ever greater extent the working people. They are becoming topics of their daily thoughts. This ascribes particular importance to the creative development and propaganda of the Marxist-Leninist doctrine on the contemporary epoch and the profoundly scientific and truly revolutionary foreign policy of our party.

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The results of the fruitful foreign policy of the CPSU are obvious and are becoming evermore tangible with every passing year. This is the invaluable merit of the Leninist CPSU Central Committee, Central Committee Politburo, and, personally, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev. The range of the most important foreign political problems is properly reflected in the work.

The speeches by A. P. Kirilenko convincingly prove that "the main force of the world's revolutionary process is the world's socialist system. Strengthening the unity and developing the cooperation among the socialist countries represent the most important direction of the foreign political activities of our party and Soviet state" (pages 20-21). The strengthening of close and truly fraternal relations among the members of the socialist comity is achieved through the activities of CEMA and through the implementation of the Complex Program for Socialist Economic Integration which calls for the coordination of long-term and current plans for the socioeconomic development of the CEMA-member countries. The Warsaw Pact is a guarantee not only for the security of the socialist countries but for strengthening the peace among nations and preventing tyranny and aggression. Unity of action and views shared by the ruling fraternal parties and the intensification of their multilateral and bilateral relations and contacts are of particular importance to the further unification and rapprochement among the members of the world's socialist system.

The increased role of world socialism, and the changed ratio of class forces in the international arena in favor of the fighters for peace, democracy, national independence, and social progress do not remove from the

agenda the need for continually strengthening the unity and solidarity of all the currents of the world's revolutionary process and all anti-imperialist forces. On the contrary, historical practice proves that more than ever before today it is important to continue to strengthen the unity of action of the communist parties of the socialist countries, the entire communist and worker movement and all anti-imperialist forces, and to expand the movement of the peoples against war and for peace and security. The joint actions of the fighters for social and national liberation are the most important guarantee for the new victories of the entire world revolutionary movement. Any retreat from this unity, any discord, separatism, or national isolation in the ranks of the fighters against imperialism and reaction are immediately used by a strong and experienced enemy such as international reaction headed by the imperialist countries and the transnational monopolies which possess a powerful military and propaganda apparatus and huge funds for bribery and provocations. Therefore, the author stresses, "our common concern is for all communists throughout the world to act as a united international force" (page 25), for the world's communist movement is the most active and most influential factor of the world's revolutionary process, while the ideas of Marxism-Leninism and the principles of proletarian internationalism are the most reliable ideological and political base for its coordinated and purposeful development.

It is precisely the Leninist ideas of proletarian internationalism that meet most fully the requirements of organically combining the national interests and international objectives of all revolutionary and progressive forces of our time; it is precisely the ideology and policies of proletarian internationalism that are the true Marxist-Leninist criterion of the scientific substantiation and class consistency of the basically indivisible activities of the communists in their own countries and in the international arena. The overwhelming majority of the fraternal communist and worker parties are united in their acknowledgement and implementation of these principles. They know that "there could not be even a question of fulfilling international obligations outside the active struggle for the solution of domestic problems facing the working people of a given country, whether the building of a new society, the elimination of monopoly omnipotence, strengthening national independence, or rebuffing imperialist intrigues. At the same, however, the successful implementation of national tasks is impossible without effective participation in the solution of such important common problems as strengthening the world's socialist system, supporting the worker and national-liberation movements, and strengthening the peace and universal security" (page 18).

The question of the contemporary significance of proletarian internationalism was formulated with new emphasis and depth at the 25th CPSU Congress. The views expressed in the report submitted by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev to the congress triggered a lively response and support on the part of communists throughout the world. The congress, as the author notes, "became a real forum for internationalism. It proved the tremendous prestige of our

Leninist Party in the world's communist movement which rates highly the great contribution made by the Soviet state in the struggle against imperialism and for peace, the national independence of the peoples, democracy, and socialism" (pages 506-507).

As our party has frequently emphasized, unity among communists and among all revolutionary and progressive forces of our time is the most important factor in resolving the main problem of our time: the prevention of a world thermo-nuclear war and insuring a lasting, just, and democratic peace and security of the nations. The author's speeches and articles trace the systematic struggle waged by the CPSU and the Soviet state in this direction, showing the way, purposefully, and surmounting all difficulties and complexities, we have been progressing toward the current levels of detente we have reached.

Our position concerning problems of war and peace is inviolable. Lenin's ideas of peaceful coexistence are its starting point. Aggression and expansionism are alien to the socialist society. Resolving the great problems of the building of communism, our people are deeply interested in the preservation of the peace and the strengthening of international security. This is confirmed by the entire history of our state. At the cost of the lives of 20 million of its citizens, in the Great Patriotic War the Soviet people gained the possibility for engaging in peaceful and free toil not only for themselves but for the peoples of many other countries. Peace, national independence, freedom, and international cooperation based on a just and democratic foundation are the basic objectives of the developed socialist society, and the strategic foundations of the foreign policy of the CPSU and the Soviet state whose class nature does not contradict the interests of mankind but, conversely, insures their most consistent protection. "The foreign policy of our party and government," the author notes, "is a policy of securing peaceful conditions for the implementation of the tasks of the building of communism in our country, defending peace and social progress, and actively supporting the liberation and revolutionary movements, bequeathed to us by the immortal Lenin. The systematic efforts of the Soviet state aimed at strengthening the trust among nations and asserting the principles of peaceful coexistence in relations among countries with different social systems are an important part of this policy" (page 41).

The 25th CPSU Congress summed up the results of the activities of the Communist Party and Soviet state in the struggle for the preservation of the peace and security of the nations and for the strengthening of international cooperation. A turn from cold war to detente became the main trend in the development of the world. The peace program formulated by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev at the previous party congress is being successfully implemented. Yet, the party has also emphasized that there are no reasons to rest on our laurels and weaken the efforts in this direction. Every success on the path to a truly lasting peace is achieved in the course of an adamant struggle against the opponents of detente and the forces of reaction and aggression which are trying to turn the development of events

back to the cold war. These circles favor an unrestrained arms race. Whenever possible they try to heat up once again the international atmosphere. The program passed at the 25th congress on the further struggle for peace and international cooperation and the freedom and independence of the nations takes fully into consideration both the positive and negative aspects of the present situation in the world. It calls for the firm continuation of the peaceful offensive initiated by the Soviet Union.

The activities of our party's Central Committee and Central Committee Politburo, headed by Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev, the loyal and firm Leninist, are distinguished by a sober, realistic, and profoundly scientific and systematically principled approach to problems of domestic and foreign policy. At the same time, under his guidance, his fellow workers and fellow party members are working tirelessly dedicating, as he does, all their forces and knowledge to the great cause of the building of communism. This is convincingly confirmed by the materials contained in A. P. Kirilenko's book "Izbrannyye Rechi i Stat'i."

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## SOME TOPICAL ASPECTS OF IDEOLOGICAL WORK

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 4, Mar 77 pp 25-35

[Article by M. Nenashev]

[Text] Problems of ideological work and of its further improvement play an important role among the key problems comprehensively considered at the 25th CPSU Congress.

The party's attention to ideology is determined by the objective requirements of social development. It increases considerably at the mature socialist stage. This is linked, above all, with the role of the scale and intensification of the socioeconomic changes taking place in our country. Particularly topical today is V. I. Lenin's behest that "the deeper the change which we wish to make, the more we must enhance the interest and conscientious attitude toward it and convince ever new millions and tens of millions of people of the need for it" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], volume 42, page 140).

Under the conditions in which a powerful socialist material-technical and intellectual potential has been developed, the conscientiousness, initiative, and creativity of the toiling masses, and their organization and discipline and high ideological and moral qualities are becoming an evermore powerful factor of social progress and an important condition for the effective utilization of existing material and spiritual possibilities in the interest of the development both of society as a whole as well as of every individual.

The new and higher stage of organization of the social organism, inherent in mature socialism, intensifies the interdependence among the economic, sociopolitical, and spiritual realms of life and the influence of the level of development of each one of them on the pace of social progress. Under present conditions the task of upgrading further ideological work and its effectiveness, and applying scientific methods in the education of the new man becomes particularly urgent.

In this connection the concepts on the comprehensive approach to this sector in the building of communism, elaborated at the 25th congress, assume major theoretical interest and immediate practical significance. Pointing out that the present conditions formulate new tasks related to party ideological activities, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary, has noted that "the practice of the party organizations indicates to us the way which, if followed, would enable us to enhance the effectiveness of such activities. This includes a comprehensive approach to the organization of all education, i.e., of insuring the close unity among the ideological-political, labor, and moral education in accordance with the characteristics of the various groups of working people." The tremendous significance of this basic conclusion is that it determines the main direction to be followed in the elaboration of specific measures in a most important realm of party work.

The ideas of the 25th congress live in the daily accomplishments of our party and people. In the period following the congress the CPSU Central Committee made a number of important decisions aimed at steadily intensifying its ideological and political influence on the masses. They include the Central Committee decree "On Upgrading the Role of Oral Political Agitation in Implementing the Resolutions of the 25th CPSU Congress." This document contains an expanded program for improving further the utilization of one of the tried active forms of party work among the masses. Its further development and improvement, the decree notes, are dictated by the need to adopt a comprehensive approach to organizing overall communist education.

Reality convincingly proves that the major positive changes which have been achieved in shaping communist idea-mindedness, developing general and professional training, and upgrading the culture and level of information of the members of the socialist society cannot be assessed only from the positions of yesterday and today. Successes in communist education represent largely a base for the subsequent solution of even more complex and bigger ideological and political problems. They formulate new and high requirements related to the content and level of organization of ideological work. The reaching of its specific objectives is becoming both easier and more complex. It is becoming easier for the party organizations are dealing with an ever better prepared audience possessing a variety of interests; it is becoming more complex as a result of the increased spiritual demands and requirements of the people concerning the content of propaganda and agitation.

The need to improve further party ideological activities is directly linked also with the tasks of the struggle against bourgeois ideology and propaganda. The aggravation of the ideological confrontation between the working class and the bourgeoisie and between the two different social systems, and the expansion of its scales under the conditions of detente face the party organizations with a number of practical problems requiring a complex solution.

We must also bear in mind the fact that the need to raise the question of a comprehensive approach to ideological work is created not only by the need for a more rational organization and intensification of the influence of such work on the masses but also by the fact that under mature socialist conditions the molding of a comprehensively developed individual becomes an immediate practical task. Naturally, this task has never been ignored in our party's educational work. Today, however, the level of development of the socialist society demands its more purposeful implementation and creates the necessary prerequisites to achieve it.

The main factors which enable us now to achieve successes in the communist education of the working people on a broad front and on the basis of a comprehensive approach are, in our view, the following:

The high level of the material and technical base and socialist social relations;

The continuing growth of the material and cultural living standards of the people;

The profound qualitative changes which have taken place in the way of life of the members of the socialist society and in their ideological convictions, social activeness, culture, and morality;

The rich and varied experience in ideological and educational work now possessed by the party committees, mass information and propaganda media, and state and social organizations;

The achievements of the social sciences in the fields of theory and communist education methods;

The results of the multilateral and bilateral ideological cooperation among the fraternal parties of the members of the socialist comity which enables us continually to enrich the practice of ideological and educational work through progressive international experience and actively to counter bourgeois propaganda through collective efforts.

Thus, the formulation of the question of the comprehensive approach is determined by the needs of the mature socialist society; it proceeds from the scientific analysis made by the party of occurring social processes and is based on the conclusions of Marxist-Leninist theory and on practical accomplishments.

The process of communist education consists of the variety of influences on the people of material and spiritual living conditions and of their social environment--the family, the school, the labor collective, various propaganda and agitation media, culture, art, and many others. The Marxist-Leninist classics established on the basis of scientific positions the

social nature of education. They substantiated comprehensively the view that the nature of a person is not something abstract inherent in an individual but a sum total of social relations. The outlook, morality, habits, and tastes of a person are the result of his formation within a specific social environment. The particular significance of the comprehensive approach lies precisely in the fact that it reflects most completely dialectics of the educational process within which economic, political, and ideological factors continually interact.

In the educational work of the party organizations a comprehensive approach means, in our view, the observance of two basic and interrelated requirements in guiding the ideological process.

The first is to insure in the course of the educational process the molding of the entire set of various qualities of the personality, above all a scientific outlook, communist idea-mindedness, conscientious attitude toward labor, professional skill, and high morality which, in the final account, represent the consciousness and spiritual world of the comprehensively and harmoniously developed person. This requirement is specifically reflected in securing the unity among ideological-political, labor, and moral education.

The second requirement is closely related to the first. It consists of the fact that under the guidance of the party organizations we must insure the coordinated influence of technical-economic, organizational, ideological, and all other factors which actively influence the molding of the mind and the moral concepts and actions of the person.

The comprehensive approach presumes the creation of an integral system in the organization of ideological work, combining the efforts of the different organization and authorities, and coordinating their educational activities; a careful selection of the most effective ways and means of education and a determination of the sequence in which they are to be applied; exerting an educational influence on all the members of the socialist society in accordance with the characteristics of the different groups of working people; unity between the process of training and education and the extensive development of the labor and social activeness of the masses. In this case it is particularly important to combine the skillful utilization of the achievements of progressive experience in the ideological work of the party organizations with the adamant search for new ways for upgrading the effectiveness of the education process.

A number of conditions must be met to insure the unity of ideological-political, labor, and moral education. Let us single out among them the ability of party committees to analyse the objective and subjective aspects of the education process, and study and take into consideration the characteristics of the interests of the various working people categories; the ability of the party organizations to adopt a scientific approach to planning,

coordination, and organization and management of ideological work; the sensible combination of mass and individual means of education and ideological influence in the production collective and at home; the existence of criteria which enable us to analyze with scientific objectivity the effectiveness of applied educational means and, on this basis, steadily improve the ways and means of ideological activities.

Let us consider some aspects related to the implementation of such requirements in the practice of the party organizations.

One of the mandatory conditions for the introduction of a comprehensive approach is the all-round study of objective and subjective factors influencing the content of the education process. In particular, this presumes the need to study the feelings of the masses and the changes which take place in their social condition.

Naturally, the party focuses its attention on the development of the working class--the leading force of the socialist society. Studying the processes occurring within it, it is important to take into consideration social indicators such as the growth of awareness, labor and social activeness, and material and cultural living standards, general culture, and many others. Studies have indicated that characteristic of the working class under mature socialist conditions are high social interests, increased creative attitude toward labor, and continuing aspiration toward knowledge and toward upgrading the level of professional skills. Particularly important among the other indicators is the level of education of the members of society which, as we know, is one of the basic criteria of their spiritual growth. Following are some data characterizing this process: the number of people with higher and secondary (full and partial) education per 1,000 people employed in the national economy rose from 433 in 1959 to 767 in 1975; the respective increases were from 396 to 715 for workers and from 226 to 537 for kolkhoz members.

Data obtained in the study of the cultural standards of working youth (the survey covered some 10,000 workers in the Urals under 30 years of age) are of interest. Their study indicates that in the course of a single month 96 percent of the workers saw a motion picture; two-thirds attended concerts and shows; 90 percent read between one and three books; 84 percent read journals regularly, and 94 percent read newspapers regularly. These figures by themselves show the broad range of cultural interests of working youth and the thirst for knowledge or, if you wish, its moral health. The working youth is flesh from the flesh of its class. With the increase in general education the cultural standard of the worker changes. His spiritual world becomes richer and his creative efforts at work and in social activities are enhanced.

The value of sociological studies is that they help the party committees to follow attentively the extent to which the content, forms, and methods of ideological work are consistent with the educational level, general culture, and increased spiritual requirements of the working people. Today the consideration of this correlation is a mandatory prerequisite for upgrading the effectiveness of ideological and educational work.

Analyzing the positive processes in the education of the working people we must also see and properly assess the negative phenomena whose bearers are individual members of the working class of kolkhoz peasantry. Such phenomena include still-existing cases of labor discipline violations, deviations from moral norms and regulations, manifestations of private-ownership mentality, and some others.

The recently passed CPSU Central Committee decree "On the Organizational and Political Work of the Krasnodarskiy Party Kraykom on the Implementation of the Decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress" points out that party committees and primary party organizations must systematically combine political education and instruction with the involvement of the people in socially useful work and in the administration of social affairs. We must enhance the significance of socialist competition as a school for the political, labor, and moral education of the people. The party calls for making more extensive use of all means for ideological, political, and social influence, and of the force of the laws in the struggle against violations of labor discipline and other immoral actions.

Today comprehensive plans for the social and socioeconomic development of production collectives and administrative rayons have become almost comprehensively widespread. Their formulation is extensively based on data from sociological studies and of surveys of the working people. The social development plans formulate objectives and earmark means for their achievement. They indicate the necessary prerequisites in molding a harmoniously developed personality. In the hands of the party committees such plans become the type of important scientific instrument which enables us effectively to influence the production, economic, and social aspects of life, coordinate the impact of technical-economic, organizational, ideological, and other factors, and engage in comprehensive educational work in the labor collectives.

The question of the role played by the party organizations in managing the education process is of a basic nature. Occasionally, in this case the significance of objective factors is exaggerated while the role of the conscious organizing principle is underestimated.

Obviously, it would be better to begin not only to take into consideration factors which influence the spiritual world of man but to control these factors on a steady and purposeful basis. It would be suitable in this connection to recall K. Marx's familiar statement that "if the character of

a person is created by circumstances, perhaps the circumstances must be made human" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." [Works], Volume 2, pages 145-146). The party organizations must determine the specific direction and way of changing circumstances in order to mold most effectively the personality in a communist spirit.

Under the conditions of a socialist society, whose progress largely depends on the conscious use of the objective laws governing social development, the role and significance of the subjective factor grow immeasurably. That is why the task of the party organizations in managing the ideological process may not be limited merely to the functions of propaganda and agitation but consists of guiding and coordinating the educational impact of factors such as the material living conditions, labor activities, way of life, and recreation of the people.

We emphasize this view since we still come across simplistic concepts concerning the content of the ideological work of party organizations in production collectives in which the unity and interaction between economic-organizational and educational work are considered one-sidedly--only as involving the participation of economic managers and engineering and technical workers in political education and lecture propaganda.

The conclusion formulated by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev in the CPSU Central Committee Accountability Report to the 25th congress according to which "at any given sector the manager must take into consideration sociopolitical and educational aspects, and he must be responsive to the people and to their needs and interests, and be a model at work and in society" is of basic importance to understanding the nature of the unity between economic-organizational and educational work.

For example, the following cases are still frequently encountered: the party organization and the economic management of an enterprise invest a great deal of propaganda efforts to promote economical production and higher discipline. However, all these efforts, using visual agitation and press media--do not yield desired results. The reason is that propaganda is not backed by organizational measures: for example, nothing is being done to improve the storage of materials, their accounting and distribution, thus creating conditions for strengthening the discipline, increasing responsibility, and holding strictly liable careless workers, absentees and rolling stones. Disparity between word and action inevitably leads to the fact that some ideological measures and useful initiatives launched by party organizations remain undereffective since they are not backed by economic-organizational work.

Propaganda and agitation facilities are not the only ones to exercise an educational impact on a person. It would be erroneous to consider them as the only force which determines the level of conscientiousness, organization, and social and labor activeness of the Soviet people. In addition to means for ideological and political influence, the production and social life of the collective is influenced by other important factors such as working and living conditions.

For example, the promotion of a conscientious attitude toward labor and the development of the social activeness of the members of the production collective are directly related to the level of the scientific organization of labor. Occasionally, nothing has a more fatal influence on the mind of a person and on his attitude toward the work as the absence of order. Various types of disorganization confuse and discourage the people, occasionally creating a neglectful attitude toward obligations and the collective, leading to a loss of feelings of responsibility and to lack of discipline.

Observations have shown that disturbing the work rhythm and rushing are particularly harmful to the production collective. The adverse effect of the rushing is not restricted merely to a drop in production quality. Frequently it creates dissension in the collective, disturbs existing relations and interrelationships among people, and harms their health. Rushing reduces the possibility for creativity in the work. Conversely, one could not underestimate the beneficial influence of organization, order, and discipline on shaping high ideological and moral qualities. It is precisely this aspect of the production atmosphere that largely develops in a person the habit of efficient labor rhythm, promoting confidence in the success and feeling of responsibility to the comrades, encouraging the people to display maximal dedication.

The experience of leading production collectives indicates that wherever ideological work is structured in a truly comprehensive way, and where ideological and educational measures are organically combined with organizational-technical measures and with the solution of important social problems such as improving working, living, and recreational conditions, high results are achieved in the education of the working people.

Practical experience has confirmed that the implementation of individual education measures cannot upgrade the effectiveness of ideological influence on the masses. We must follow the method of creating entire systems of such measures based on long-term and systematic utilization. In recent years the party committees have achieved considerable successes in this respect. In particular, party education, political information, and lecture propaganda systems have been operating nearly everywhere on a long-term plan basis. The task now facing the party organizations is to develop a systematic approach to all other directions of ideological work.

The party's demand of improving the moral education of the working people is particularly topical in the light of the decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress.

The assertion of a new morality is not a spontaneous process. It occurs under the influence of the entire socialist way of life and the many-faceted ideological work of the party organizations. Communist morality is established in the course of the struggle against private ownership views and habits and the obsolete traditions of the past and bourgeois ideology. This responsible area of ideological work is always kept in the center of attention by the Communist Party, for the mature socialist society is formulating ever-stricter requirements concerning the moral aspect of its members.

The question of the correlation between private and social interests, and of shaping sensible needs is particularly important in the field of moral education. We know that the supreme objective of the socialist society is to satisfy the steadily growing material and cultural needs of the working people. Yet, improvements in material prosperity exert a conflicting influence on the minds and actions of the people. Directing its efforts toward upgrading further the prosperity of the working people, our party also cautions that the world of objects and material goods should not make man its slave, replacing all his other aspirations, thoughts, and interests. It was particularly stressed in this respect at the 25th CPSU Congress that the growth of material prosperity must be always accompanied by the enhancement of the ideological-moral and cultural level of the Soviet people. Otherwise, recurrences of a philistine petty bourgeois psychology are possible.

Material incentive is an important yet far from single factor effectively influencing the growth of labor and social activeness. Under developed socialist conditions, to an ever-greater extent the Soviet person acts as the master of his country, as the builder of a new society. He finds important not only material rewards for labor but moral satisfaction as well. Observations have shown that as wages rise and as the overall prosperity improves the acceptance of moral incentives by the working people rises instead of the opposite. Individual awareness of the social significance of one's output, a feeling of responsibility to society and fellow workers, satisfaction with the condition in the collective, joy of creativity, aesthetic enjoyment of labor processes and results, and other moral and psychological aspects are acquiring ever-greater significance in labor education.

The attitude of the people toward labor depends, to a certain extent, on the skillful utilization and combination of moral and material incentives. It is very important for the moral incentive methods used to assume the shape of social recognition of the labor and civic merits of the worker, as an expression of the view of the labor collective. This must be mentioned, for there are few collectives in which effective measures are taken to praise skill and labor heroism, and promote true respect for the high position of the working person.

So far the mechanism of interaction among the basic units and subjects of the education process--family, children's pre-school institutions, schools, and labor collectives--has not been fully developed in the realm of moral education. Quite frequently their efforts remain uncoordinated. Yet, it is precisely here that a strict system of systematic measures would be necessary to influence the very first steps taken by a person--literally from kindergarten--and follow him throughout his active life. Taking daily into consideration age and spiritual development, everyone should be taught the norms and rules of behavior; consistency between words and actions should be checked; aid should be given in molding and defending an active moral position and a person should display maximal self-dedication. Such is our common task.

Particular attention should be paid to the moral education of the youth. The Soviet youth are educated, curious, and full of creative zeal and energy. They actively participate in the solution of the great national economic and social problems formulated by the party. Their loyalty to the ideals of communism, enthusiasm, and patriotic feelings are manifested in their concrete accomplishments at the shock construction projects of the five-year plan, the development of natural resources, and the mastering of the powerful forces of the contemporary scientific and technical revolution. At the same time, however, we cannot ignore the fact that a certain percentage of the youth are not subjected to the proper training. They do not develop a respectful attitude toward labor, high moral norms, and firmness in the face of difficulties. Occasionally, they display parasitical and consumer feelings.

In the Ninth Five-Year Plan a great deal of work was done in our country to improve further the conditions governing youth education and upbringing. A great deal is being done to improve training and education work in schools, technical-vocational schools, technical schools, and VUZ's. At the same time, many problems in the field of youth education and upbringing are waiting for their solution. Topical among them are the intensification of the training process under the conditions of the increased volume of scientific knowledge and information, the all-round strengthening of the unity between the training and educational processes, and improvements in the ways and means of ideological-political, labor, and moral education.

One of the possibilities for upgrading the effectiveness of ideological work is to combine, on the basis of efficient long-term planning, the educational efforts of the various organizations, and to coordinate their work under the guidance of the party authorities.

The purpose of ideological work is to educate both the individual and the collective, as well as the overall mass of working people. The proper choice of ways and means for influencing the subject of such education depends on his characteristics.

Now, when exerting an effective ideological influence on every member of the socialist society is an urgent practical task the question of a sensible correlation between mass-political and individual means for educating the working people becomes particularly topical. Educational activities in the labor collectives are not always sufficiently effective, for the party organizations use mainly mass means and do not reach the individual. Ideological-political influence is directed to the collective as a whole; plans are formulated on the basis of a certain "average" person; the characteristics of the various categories of working people are insufficiently analyzed or taken into consideration. Therefore, still quite frequently the party organizations inform those who are already informed and convince those who are already convinced. Yet, precisely those who need prime attention remain outside the realm of ideological influence.

Unfortunately, unlike mass-political work, so far individual work is carried out sporadically, frequently on an emergency basis. That is why the experience of the leading production collectives and party organizations becomes even more valuable and deserving of greater attention. This experience enables us to speak quite firmly of a developing system of purposeful individual ideological-moral influence.

The basic elements of this system are, first, the thorough study of the structure of labor collectives in order to determine precisely the categories of working people whose education would particularly benefit by the individual approach; second, the determination of the basic forces on whose basis such work could be carried out; third, the elaboration of rational methods for organization, control, and determination of the results of individual education.

Who specifically should engage in individual work with people and on whom should the party organizations rely? These forces, as practical experience shows, are the leading workers-party members. They are the most conscientious detachment of the working people, party activists, engineering and technical workers, and economic managers. It would be useful to involve extensively in this work the heads of the primary production collective--brigade leaders and foremen.

It is important not only to find potential individual tutors and educators but to work with them, and to raise their standards as leaders. We must teach the teachers.

The practical implementation of the comprehensive approach requires that we always remember the organic link and interdependence between educational work within production collectives and at places of residence. The importance of ideological work at home grows particularly due to the fact that, as before, organizing the leisure time of the working people remains a topical problem. The increased amount of free time under socialist conditions, described by Marx as the space for human development, faces the ideological workers with a number of practical problems. Life adamantly demands for educational work at home to become the natural continuation of the varied ideological work now done by the party organizations in the labor collectives.

The CPSU Central Committee points out the need for planned and systematic mass-political work at home, above all among population strata unrelated to labor collectives as well as among young people living in dormitories. This calls for a better utilization of houses of culture, clubs, libraries, movie theaters, courses, red corners, and assembly halls of establishments. The network of summer agitation areas must be expanded. It would be expedient to set up groups of activist-consultants at the social councils of microrayons to answer the questions of the working people, extensively involving in this work educators, lawyers, physicians, cultural workers, and other specialists.

The effectiveness of ideological influence is largely determined by the art and skill of propagandists, agitators, and educators in disseminating the party's ideas among the masses. In this connection problems of the scientific organization of ideological work and its current and long-term planning by party committees, the coordination of the efforts of ideological organizations and institutions, and the determination of the effectiveness of education are particularly topical. The summation and broad dissemination of the experience already acquired in this respect by the party committees is a vital task.

The implementation of the comprehensive approach not only does not lower but, on the contrary, enhances the role and significance of the party worker. The organization of ideological work is a creative process. The efficient operation of the educational system depends, above all, on the party members who manage it, on their personal qualities and educational abilities. That is why the skillful choice and placement of cadres, the enhancement of their general and professional knowledge, the improvement of their skills and their enrichment with progressive experience are the basis of organizational work.

Constant concern for ideological cadres and their professional growth, ideological and political training, and studies is among the best traditions of our party. The specific result of its comprehensive work with cadres is the high educational level reached by the party workers. Today over 99 percent of secretaries of central committees of communist parties and of party kraykoms, obkoms, gorkoms, and raykoms have higher education.

Party work blends Marxist-Leninist scientific theory, practical knowledge, organizational skills, and ability and initiative. This naturally calls for the steady reinforcement of the knowledge of the party workers. On the basis of practical requirements, the 25th CPSU Congress set the party committees the task of steadily upgrading the level of training of party cadres. It is a question of improving further the practice which has developed in recent years among the party committees of sponsoring permanent courses, seminars, and conferences attended by a broad circle of ideological workers.

At the same time, however perfected the educational system may be, nothing could replace daily self-education. Increasing one's knowledge despite the stressed rhythm of party work is not easy. Yet, it is absolutely necessary. Practical experience shows that only the party worker who, regardless of his great duties, is capable of always learning in order to be in step with life and not fall behind in his spiritual development can be successful in his work. Upgrading the requirements facing ideological cadres, the party committees must also emphasize another aspect of the matter: the need to create for them favorable conditions for mastering knowledge, spiritual enrichment, and cultural growth. The level of scientific organization of ideological work will become the higher the more skilled, and educated become the ideological workers of party committees.

The principles of the comprehensive approach cannot be implemented by themselves. Their application depends on the extent to which the party organizations have mastered them and learned how to use them. Ever-new forms and ways and means of ideological work are being created and used in the daily work of the party organizations. That is why a vital task in theoretical work is the profound analysis of achievements in ideological practice and the all-round summation of everything valuable gained in this field by the party organizations.

Further improvements in ideological work and in its management adamantly call for a closer unification of the efforts of scientists and practical workers. It is precisely their joint creative activities that are a guarantee for the further enrichment of the arsenal of party ideological weapons and for upgrading the effectiveness of communist education.

The shaping of a high social conscientiousness among all citizens is one of the most important structural parts of the process of building communism. The implementation of the comprehensive approach in the activities of party organizations is a mandatory condition for the successful implementation of the responsible tasks which the 25th CPSU Congress set ideological workers. Insuring in practice the close unity among ideological-political, labor, and moral education means taking a major step forward in the education of the new man.

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## INTERFARM COOPERATION: PARTY MANAGEMENT PROBLEMS

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[Article by A. Iyevlev, secretary, Voronezhskaya Oblast Party Committee]

[Text] 1

The CPSU agrarian policy aimed at converting agricultural production into a highly developed sector of the socialist economy is aimed at achieving most important economic and social objectives. "It is the extension and creative development of the Leninist cooperative plan under new circumstances," stated the CPSU Central Committee decree "On the 60th Anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution." "In the past 10 years the amount of funds invested in the development of agriculture was nearly twice the amount invested in all previous years of the Soviet system." As the material and technical base of agricultural output strengthens, upgrading effectiveness and improving all qualitative indicators of the sector becomes an evermore urgent task.

In this case the specialization and concentration of agricultural production on the basis of interfarm cooperation and agro-industrial integration must play a major role. As we know, developing the decisions of the congress, the CPSU Central Committee passed an expanded decree on this subject whose tremendous theoretical, political, and socioeconomic significance would be difficult to overestimate. The party and the people consider its systematic implementation the means for increasing crop and animal husbandry output, reducing production costs, raising the level of socialization of kolkhoz output, improving social relations, bringing closer to each other the two forms of socialist ownership, and insuring the gradual elimination of major disparities between town and country. Legitimately, the party's Central Committee formulated the specialization and concentration of agricultural production on the basis of extensive cooperation and agro-industrial integration as a new stage in the practical implementation of the ideas of the Leninist cooperative plan under developed socialist conditions.

The tasks facing the rural workers demand of the party, soviet, and agricultural authorities to adopt a scientific approach in formulating the basic trends of development of an oblast, rayon, kolkhoz, or sovkhoz, to see future possibilities, and implement their plans without unnecessary haste or artificial urging yet, at the same time, without allowing any unjustified delays. It is this that guides the practical activities of our oblast party organization. It always keeps in mind the basic problems of rural economic and social development. Thanks to this, in recent years we have been able to achieve considerable progress in specialization, concentration, interfarm cooperation, upgrading the effectiveness of agricultural sectors, and applying new promising forms of labor and production organization.

Located in the Central Chernozem Zone our oblast has, in addition to a highly developed industry, a network of big kolkhozes and sovkhozes (averaging 5,000 hectares of plow land). Its basic sectors are the production of grain, sugar beets, and some flour, milk and dairy cattle-breeding, and hog-, sheep-, and poultry-breeding. Whereas the majority of kolkhozes and sovkhozes still have several basic sectors, the interfarm enterprises and poultry farms members of the Ptitseprom trust, created in recent years on the basis of shareholding bases, are specialized enterprises already converted, or in the process of conversion, to an industrial base. On the other hand, we also have many state sugar refineries, meat combines, and plants engaged in the processing of milk, production of sunflower oil, and canned vegetables. The problems of production specialization and concentration are being resolved in accordance with all these possibilities and the level reached in the development of the economy of the individual rayons and farms, their location, and closeness to processing enterprises.

Starting with the first five-year plans a number of specialized sovkhozes were set up in the oblast; at the beginning of the 1950's the production process was concentrated on the basis of the consolidation of kolkhozes and sovkhozes. This yielded certain positive results: scientific crop rotation systems were applied over big areas; the equipment began to be used more effectively; intrafarm specialization began to develop. However, for a large number of reasons the process of production specialization and concentration developed slowly. Following the March 1965 CPSU Central Committee Plenum these problems were placed again on the agenda and with every passing year we dealt with them evermore adamantly and purposefully.

Guided by the decisions of party congresses and the instructions of Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary, the oblast party organization tries to promote production specialization and concentration gradually, progressing from simpler to more complex problems. Initially we decided to reorganize on an industrial base the feeding of cattle, the feeding of hogs at its final stage, and poultry-breeding. During the Eighth Five-Year Plan the first interfarm complexes were developed for the production of livestock products. They were set up, for example, at Buturlinovskiy and Novousmanskii rayons. However, at that time, in most

rayons individual kolkhozes or sovkhoses began to specialize in the raising of cattle and hogs. This was explained by a variety of reasons: the objective consideration of existing possibilities and the display of a certain amount of caution, this being a new project.

What did practical experience show? In the joint enterprises which the shareholders set up on the basis of interfarm cooperation, production capacities were built rapidly and mastered within a short time. Conversely, most specialized feeding farms, organized on the basis of individual kolkhozes or sovkhoses, failed to achieve expected results. Above all the completion of construction projects was delayed. New equipment whose utilization presumes high production concentration was not used at full capacity, as it is not always possible to reach such capacity within the framework of a single farm.

Following the recommendation of the party, obkom agricultural specialists and scientists summed up the experience of the first years of work in this direction and made suggestions concerning further production specialization and concentration. In June 1971 these suggestions were considered at an obkom plenum. The essence of its decisions was to develop specialization and concentration above all on the basis of interfarm cooperation. Within a relatively short time the already-established kolkhoz and sovkhos complexes for raising cattle and hogs were converted into interfarm enterprises whose capacities began to grow rapidly. Furthermore, the plenum approved measures on strengthening the fodder base. Work was developed on the building of interfarm mixed fodder plants and the development of irrigation.

All this, together, yielded positive results. Let us take Buturlinovskiy Rayon as an example. Following the establishment of an interfarm cattle raising complex, beef production here rose 70 percent; the sector became highly profitable for all shareholding farms. Developing the planned capacity of the other interfarm complex--hog breeding--the rayon kolkhozes and sovkhoses doubled their average annual production of pork in seven years. They spent 12 million rubles on the construction of this complex and earned over 18 million in seven years.

Despite the fact that three years in the five-year plan were droughty the average meat output (in slaughtered weight) in kolkhozes and sovkhoses rose, compared with the Eighth Five-Year Plan, 31 percent; milk production rose 21 percent; eggs, 62 percent; and wool, 23 percent. These results were the best method for promoting specialization and concentration on the basis of the joint efforts of all farms.

Discussions at the obkom plenum, held in the summer of 1974, dealt with the means for the further intensification of specialization and the expansion of interfarm cooperation. The measures approved at the plenum (discussed in advance and refined by party raykoms and primary party organizations) called for the development of such processes not only in animal husbandry but in other sectors. What was accomplished specifically in implementing these

decisions? In addition to livestock-breeding, specialized farms were developed in all rayons in the oblast concentrating on raising first-calf heifers and completing the raising of young stock for replenishing the cattle herds. State-kolkhoz truck-gardening associations were set up, in which the sovkhoses of the Plodoprom trust acted as head enterprises. Eleven kolkhozes and one sovkhos joined in growing greenhouse vegetables. We are completing the establishment of specialized farms for the industrial production of high-grade seeds for grain crops and perennial grasses.

An active process of specialization and concentration is taking place in beet growing. In 1976 areas planted in sugar beets were expanded by 47,000 hectares or 23 percent. They were expanded above all in farms possessing the best conditions for growing this crop, and a well-mastered growing and harvesting technology using sets of machines. Last season many of these farms planted in sugar beets one out of five or six hectares. Despite the difficulties created by the early colds and precipitations at harvest time the oblast overfulfilled its plan for the sale of beets to the state.

2

Economic relations between interfarm enterprises and shareholding farms are an important link in such cooperation. The moment such enterprises began to be established questions arose such as how to acquire fixed and working assets, what prices to charge in settling accounts for cattle supplied for feeding, how to distribute the increased weight and the profits, and so on. The party obkom and raykoms involved a broad circle of specialists and farm managers, party and economic workers, and scientists to work on such problems which are of particular importance to the further development of the farms and to enabling lagging farms to reach the level of leading farms. Repeated practical science conferences were held and proper recommendations were formulated.

A specific system has now been developed of organizational, production, technological, and economic interrelations among those participating in interfarm cooperation. It is simple and understood by everyone. It is aimed at upgrading reciprocal responsibility and interest in achieving high end results. In particular, accounts on cattle supplied by shareholding farms for feeding are now based on economically substantiated intra-oblast differentiated prices. Let me explain this with some examples. We know that in hog-breeding in their early age the young pigs increase their weight considerably more slowly compared with the older groups of animals. Furthermore, initially nutritive and, consequently, expensive fodder is used in raising the young pigs; labor outlays per unit of output are high. Clearing prices depending on the weight of the young offspring enable us to take factually this characteristic into consideration. In our oblast the highest price per quintal of delivered meat is based on the average delivery weight per offspring within the 20-25 kg range; subsequently, the price per quintal is reduced gradually. This encourages the reproduction farms to increase the production of pigs under optimal conditions. Practical experience

indicates that differentiated prices provide such farms with good profits and that the profitability level is approximately 50 percent, as it is in raising the hogs. The hogs are raised by the interfarm enterprises under conditions of comprehensive mechanization with minimal labor, fodder, and monetary outlays per quintal of output. This, again, is beneficial to the shareholding farms and state.

The stimulating effect of the prices is manifested differently in beef production. In this case their basic purpose is to provide material incentive both to the reproducing farms as well as the farms which complete the raising of the young offspring so that the bullcalves may be sent to fattening under high weight conditions. The young cattle offspring weighing under 270 kg and the adult cattle are accepted on the basis of state purchase prices; should the young offspring be delivered for the final feeding weighing from 270 to 320 kg a 35 percent price markup is paid; the markup is raised to 50 percent for young offspring weighing in excess of 320 kg. On the one hand, this encourages the farms to supply heavier cattle and make better use of their own pastures; on the other, it forces the interfarm feeding enterprise to insure a high average daily weight increase and stop feeding the cattle when its weight is not below 350-400 kg.

The fattened cattle and hogs are delivered to the state by the interfarm complexes and considered as the fulfillment of the plan by the shareholding farms. The initial weight of the cattle is credited to the farms which have raised the young offspring while the increased weight is distributed among them in proportion to the amount of fodder they have supplied computed in terms of fodder units. The share of the weight increase in cattle-breeding resulting from the use of purchased fodder or obtained from specialized fodder production farms is divided in some cooperatives proportionally to the number of cattle places assigned to the shareholders or in proportion to the size of the share. Fodder, since that is what insures the success above all, plays here (as well as in the distribution of profits) an important regulating role. In turn, this encourages its production by all farms.

It frequently happened in the past that some kolkhozes and sovkhoses had surplus fodder while others had fodder shortages and were unable to engage in intensive livestock-feeding. Under cooperated conditions the situation is different. Some farms supply the feeding complex more cattle; others supply it with more fodder. The result is the creation of most favorable conditions for effective feeding. This situation benefits the shareholders and objectively contributes to the intensification of their specialization in the production of specific items.

Providing economic guidance, the CPSU Obkom carefully follows these processes and contributes to their planned development, considering them an important condition for upgrading production effectiveness and improving the quality of all rural work. There were no open roads here for which reason, particularly at first, not everything went smoothly and annoying errors were

made. Thus, some hog-breeding complexes tried to pay the shareholders for the delivery weight of the cattle on the basis of state purchase prices regardless of the condition of the livestock. Initially there were no substantiated payment prices for the supplied fodder. The groundlessness of attempts to divide profits among shareholders only per head of cattle delivered for feeding became obvious quite soon. Efforts were made to prevent the recurrence of such errors. On the other hand, it would be wrong to assume that we have found optimal solutions. It is a requirement of life itself to continue to search for the most effective methods for organizing relations among shareholders in interfarm cooperation.

3

The organization of the production of agricultural commodities on an industrial base, the growth of the technical equipment of the farms and the use of evermore complex machines and mechanisms require considerable improvements in equipment repairs and servicing in the villages. Today such operations are conducted, as a rule, on an insufficiently high level. We believe that this is mainly due to the fact that the technical servicing and repair service is uncoordinated. Such services are found in all kolkhozes, sovkhoses, interfarm enterprises, and Sel'khoztekhnika. Furthermore, each farm and Sel'khoztekhnika enterprise tries to stock up in its warehouses a certain pile of spare parts, those in short supply above all, naturally. The problem of spare parts is becoming aggravated and additional difficulties are created.

Two years ago the oblast party committee invited a group of specialists and scientists who were asked to formulate a method for technical servicing which would be effective and consistent with the present stage in the development of agricultural production. Their suggestions were carefully studied and approved by the obkom, the oblast executive committee, and the Rossel'khoztekhnika management and applied experimentally in Verkhnekhavskiy Rayon. There technical services and capital and current repairs of machines belonging to 16 kolkhozes, one sovkhos, and the interfarm enterprise are provided by the rayon Sel'khoztekhnika association which has assumed full responsibility for maintaining them in proper running order. Another essential fact is that the introduction of this method brought about changes in the system of paying the rayon Sel'khoztekhnika association for services provided to the farms. In the past the farms paid the association for its repair and technical servicing expenditures based on factual outlays. Now payments for repairs and technical services are estimated on the basis of the factual amount of work done by tractors, combines, trucks, and other machines. The rayon Sel'khoztekhnika association signs with the farms contracts for withholdings from each standard hectare cultivated by tractors, combines, and other machines, and per kilometer of truck runs. The farms pay for repairs and technical services of mechanisms and of the equipment of livestock farms in accordance with their balance sheet value. This covers the outlays of the association for capital and current repairs and current maintenance.

In order to provide comprehensive technical services, the rayon association has set up on the territory of each farm its own production-technical sector headed by an engineer-technologist. The sectors were organized on the basis of the repair workshops and technical service centers rented from the farms. This way, even though this has not been juridically processed, a rayon state-kolkhoz association has been set up to provide technical services and insure the productive utilization of the equipment, whose head enterprise is Sel'khoztekhnika. The kolkhozes and sovkhoses are its partners. The juridical autonomy of the enterprises is retained while relations, including the responsibilities of the parties, are stipulated in the contracts.

In our view this innovation has many advantages. First of all, the factual possibility appears for establishing a single and effective system for specialized technical services and repairs ranging from the production-technical sector on the territory of the farm to the repair plant. The problem of specialization and concentration of repair works, the extensive use of the aggregate-assembly repair method, and the use of modern facilities for technical diagnosis and complex equipment may be resolved more successfully within the system of a single organization such as Sel'khoztekhnika. Secondly, the enterprise becomes immeasurably more interested in improving the quality of repairs and technical maintenance and extending the inter-repair deadlines and increasing engine power. Since changes in payments for services make the rayon Sel'khoztekhnika association dependent on the results of the work of kolkhoz and sovkhos equipment, it tries to provide more systematic and effective state control over its condition and proper exploitation. Thirdly, and no less importantly, the engineering service of the farm, released from the organization of repair work and technical care, gains the possibility to focus its attention on the effective utilization of the equipment, the introduction of the most progressive methods for the organization of mechanizer labor, and insuring the high quality work of each machine unit and mechanism.

The experiment conducted in Verkhnekhavskiy Rayon confirms the substantiation of these considerations. Here the coefficient of technical preparedness of tractors and combines has increased; output per standard tractor has risen and outlays for spare parts have declined; overall expenditures for the maintenance and operation of the equipment have been lowered. Naturally, no final conclusion may be drawn on the basis of a single year of experimentation. However, this method is tempting, for it can be built in within the overall system of production specialization, concentration, and comprehensive mechanization. In the opinion of many specialists and practical workers, it will become widespread after some changes.

4

Following the organization of such enterprises of a new type--interfarm enterprises--where the processes of production specialization and concentration are most clearly manifested, and where it is particularly important

to organize the work on the basis of the utilization of the achievements of scientific and technical progress, agricultural labor industrialization, and tireless struggle for high economic and quality indicators, the problem of cadres has become particularly acute. For such enterprises the party obkom recommended that the most experienced managers and specialists who have proven themselves in practical work, skillful organizers, and educators who combine political maturity with high business qualities be appointed. Now we could clearly say that the good economic results achieved by these farms are largely the result of the arrival of skilled management cadres and of leading rural workers.

Let us take as an example the interfarm hog-breeding complex in Buturlinovskiy Rayon. It employs 43 specialists including 10 with higher education. They possess extensive knowledge. They are quite familiar with economics and are enthusiastically applying new and progressive developments. The complex chief technologist I. S. Sokryukin, P. A. Oleynikova, chief of the reproduction shop and oblast party committee candidate member, V. I. Oleynikov, head of the mixed fodder production, fodder operators M. F. Kostomarova and P. G. Matveyeva, and many others enjoy deserved prestige in the collective. Unquestionably, director G. M. Serikov is the most prestigious and respected person. For 13 years he was chairman of the Vostok Kolkhoz. Previously he had held the position of party raykom secretary where he was able to convert this farm from lagging to leading. In 1971 he became the manager of the biggest interfarm enterprise in the oblast. It is no accident that G. M. Serikov was one of the delegates representing our oblast party organization at the 25th CPSU Congress.

The obkom and the rural party raykoms and primary party organizations pay great attention to cadre training and retraining. Senior workers of interfarm enterprises systematically attend oblast and mixed seminars where they study progressive experience, the most progressive technologies, and new forms of labor organization and wages. The two-month courses sponsored by the Voronezh Agricultural Institute, and the oblast agricultural management school play a major role in cadre training.

Secondary level specialists are trained, as a rule, by the agricultural technical schools. There are seven such schools in our oblast. Thus, the Verkhne-Ozersk technical school trains zootechnicians for work at pork production complexes. The Ostrogozhsk technical school trains personnel for dairy production complexes, while the Borisoglebsk technical school trains electrotechnicians.

Tractor and truck drivers, electricians, fitters, and master tuners are trained at technical-vocational schools and technical service stations within the Sel'khoztekhnika system, where they study progressive machine milking technology. In Bogucharskiy Rayon alone, in two years 248 machine milkers were retrained. Subsequently, all of them began to handle not 20 to 25 cows each but approximately twice that number.

At the same time, a number of problems exist related to cadre training exceeding the range of competence of oblast organizations. This includes, for example, the organization of specialist training in agricultural VUZ's. Such specialists are not as yet given sufficiently profound knowledge on the technology of industrial output, and the organization of labor and management under the conditions of a specialized kolkhoz, sovkhoz, or inter-farm enterprise. The study of such problems could be based in advance on the sector to which VUZ graduates will be assigned. Obviously, the time has come to make proper changes in VUZ curricula.

The retraining of farm managers at two- or three-month courses offered by the agricultural institutes also requires improvements. Here again so far the curricula do not take fully into consideration the present and future state of specialization and concentration of output. Throughout the country one comes across kolkhoz chairmen and sovkhoz directors heading farms entirely differentiated in terms of specialization. The time has come to correct and differentiate the curricula and invite the heads of specialized farms to attend specific specialization courses.

5

Headed by the instructions of Comrade L. I. Brezhnev to the effect that the level of party guidance directly depends on the extent to which the primary party organizations, which are the foundations of our party, are working militantly and with initiative, they are the subject of the tireless attention of the party's obkom and raykoms. After the 25th congress oblast conferences with secretaries of rural primary party organizations and, subsequently, with secretaries of party organizations of interfarm enterprises were held; a conference of party group organizers was held as well. The work of the party organizations and their primary cells--the party groups--was repeatedly discussed at obkom plenums and by the obkom bureau.

Thus, in November 1976 the obkom bureau discussed in detail the work of the party organization of the Zarya interfarm cattle-feeding complex. The discussion revealed that the enterprise's party organization frequently sets itself tasks related to the economic and social development of the collective and is adamantly working on the implementation of plans. A great deal is being done to improve political and educational work with the people, upgrade the labor activeness of party members, improve production quality, and reduce labor outlays and production costs. Of late the placement of party members in the complex has improved considerably; four party groups have been set up in the shops and their vanguard role has been enhanced. Out of a total of 38 CPSU members 28 are engaged in basic production. All of them are in leading positions in the competition; 12 are communist labor shock workers.

The Zarya party organization assumed control over the expansion and reconstruction of the complex. In the past three years its capacity more than doubled. Today it can raise simultaneously about 15,000 head of cattle. Following the reconstruction the labor productivity of feeding operators nearly tripled. During the Ninth Five-Year Plan cattle weight rose 2.5 times compared with the Eighth Five-Year Plan. Production costs per quintal weight increase was lowered to 64 rubles while the level of profitability reached 69 percent.

Yet, critical remarks were also voiced concerning the party organization. It was emphasized that, essentially, the interfarm complex is the head enterprise of the association. However, not all shareholding farms were working on an organized and rhythmical basis. Consequently, the bureau stated, contacts with the farm party organizations must be developed. Perhaps a council of secretaries could be created to coordinate the efforts of the party members of several primary party organizations for the solution of joint problems.

Such a council is now in operation in Liskinskiy Rayon. It consists of secretaries of the party organizations of the 9-ya Pyatiletka Hog-Feeding Interfarm Enterprise, and of shareholding farms which, even after the planned further intensification of the specialization of rayon kolkhozes and sovkhoses would remain as the main suppliers of young offspring for feeding. The council is headed by V. Ye. Pikulin, secretary of the party organization of the interfarm enterprise. The joint work plan of this consultative authority includes problems such as political backing of the implementation by all shareholders of production plans and schedules for the delivery of young pigs in suitable condition for feeding; organizing the training of livestock breeders, teaching them progressive production experience; study by kolkhoz and sovkhos party members of the activities of party organizations whose party organizational and ideological work is well organized.

The example in this is provided, above all, by the party organization of the interfarm enterprise. Here party members are at work in each sector. There is an active party group in the main shop; party groups will be created at the mixed fodder plant and the garage which now number two party members each. The farm has many young people and Komsomol members; essentially, these are mechanizers. The best among them join the party ranks. The enterprise's collective is united. It consists essentially of specialists, technicians, and highly skilled workers. Practically everyone is a student: economic and zootechnical training has been organized; courses are sponsored on upgrading the skills of mechanizers. The entire personnel is engaged in party-political studies and Komsomol political education. The farm maintains strong labor and technological discipline. It has launched effective socialist competition for high qualitative and quantitative indicators and has developed a system for the moral and material incentive of competition participants for the achievement of best results. All party members have

their personal plans and all specialists have elaborated their own creative plans. Approximately once every 18 months every party member (there are 17 party members) reports on his work at a party or bureau meeting. Should one or another party member or specialist intend to address a meeting, or the party-economic aktiv of the rayon, the party organization formulates its collective opinion on the type of experience which should be shared, how to discuss problems expediently, and what suggestions to formulate.

The interfarm enterprise is to many an example of the practical utilization of the achievements of science and progressive experience. It is steadily improving technology and the organization of the work. Specialists frequently visit breeding farms enabling them to master progressive innovations. The results speak for themselves. Following are those of the difficult 1975: the enterprise sold 34,000 quintals of pork at 65.6 rubles per quintal while outlays did not exceed 1.4 man/hours and 5 quintals of fodder units per quintal. Last year the farm sold the state 35,100 quintals or two-thirds of the pork produced in the rayon. This is far more than the total output of all kolkhozes and sovkhozes in 1970.

Good work is also being done by the Mayak interfarm Enterprise which raises cattle supplied by the farms of its own and three other rayons, essentially using the beet cuttings of the Georgiu-Dezh Sugar Refinery. It is more difficult for Mayak to influence the state of affairs of the shareholders. As a whole, however, the problem is being resolved adequately thanks to the particular concern shown by the agricultural and party authorities of the rayons, the party obkom, and the oblast executive committee for the work of such enterprises.

The process of production specialization and concentration is developing in Liskinskiy Rayon on a systematic and planned basis. Currently the specialized sovkhozes and kolkhozes, the interfarm enterprises and the poultry farms of the Ptitseprom trust account for the main volume of livestock output. A complex on the controlled raising of pregnant heifers is operating on an interfarm basis using the facilities of one of the kolkhozes. Currently the entire production of marketable duck meat is concentrated in another kolkhoz. For quite some time the 2-ya Pyatiletka Sovkhoz, long and successfully specialized in the production of turkey meat, is expanding and reconstructing its farms with a view to converting this sector as well to an industrial base. New big dairy farms are being built and others reconstructed. The kolkhoz imeni Kirov for example, will raise 1,600 cows. Sheep-breeding will be concentrated in three farms offering the best conditions for the development of the sector. Some farms will begin to produce pork to meet essentially their own needs while others will expand the raising of young pigs to be fattened further at the interfarm enterprise.

Similar processes are taking place in crop-growing. A number of rayon farms are specializing in growing quality seeds. It has been decided that one of the kolkhozes will specialize in the production of fresh fodder for the inter-farm Mayak enterprise located nearby. Currently such fodder is transported occasionally over distances of 50 to 60 km. Furthermore, quite recently all farms were growing vegetables for the market. Now only two farms will do so, having possibilities for the development of irrigation, and located not far from a vegetable cannery (in the future an agro-industrial complex could be organized here). Above all, the rayon is rapidly increasing the production of agricultural commodities, lowering their production cost and improving its quality. Livestock-breeding and crop-raising standards are rising.

True, the steady search for new solutions here again occasionally results in temporary losses. However, these are precisely temporary for the people of Liskinskiy Rayon are able to take urgent and effective measures for the elimination of shortcomings. Production specialization and concentration, development of interfarm relations, and problems of ideological and educational work, cadre problems, increasing aid to the villages by the enterprises of Georgiu-Dezh, the rayon center, and strengthening direct contacts between farms and scientific research institutions are frequently discussed at plenums and raykom bureau meetings. Periodically reports on the work of the primary party organizations, particularly those of interfarm enterprises, are submitted to the raykom.

The oblast party committee supports the progressive experience of the rural raykoms and primary party organizations, organizing its study and dissemination, and directing economic and party managers to the comprehensive utilization of this experience, mandatorily adopting a creative approach to it and taking maximally into consideration specific circumstances and factual possibilities.

6

The systematic specialization and concentration of agricultural output on the basis of interfarm cooperation and agro-industrial integration is a long-term process related to specific economic conditions and levels of development of production forces. Our oblast party organization considers as its objective to strengthen and multiply our achievements and create conditions for a systematic conversion to more intensive specialization and to the establishment of state-kolkhoz associations in the sectors, ranging from the primary production subdivision to an association on the oblast scale, and to the development of interrayon relations and relations between industry and agriculture, followed by their integration.

I would like to share the following considerations: in our oblast the Svinoprom Sovkhoz trust and the oblast interkolkhoz association for the production of pork on an industrial basis continue to operate side by side, and so do the Skotoprom Sovkhoz trust and the interfarm cattle-feeding

association. Obviously, it will be expedient to combine them in the future within a sector, through the establishment of respective sectorial state-kolkhoz production associations. Furthermore, now officially the breeding service has been concentrated within a single entity: two years ago an oblast livestock-breeding association was set up. However, practical experience shows that this service did not come closer to production work but rather the opposite. Sectorial breeding stations bear no responsibility whatever for the end results of the work in the sector. Obviously, the hog-breeding station, for example, should be made part of the oblast Svinoprom association whose establishment is being planned; the sheep-breeding station should become subordinated to the Ovtseprom trust, and so on. In general, in our view, it would be expedient to concentrate all services within the the sectorial production associations.

Many oblast sovkhoses have either already built or are building their own processing plants. In practical terms, sovkhos-plants are being created. Currently bigger enterprises are under construction to process the various commodities produced by several farms. We believe this to be particularly justified in the suburban truck-gardening areas: such a plant here would not only process the produce but play a middleman's role between vegetable-producing farms and trade enterprises. Farms would supply the trade network with vegetables according to a strictly coordinated schedule; a certain percentage of the output remaining unsold by the store for one or another reason, having lost its marketable characteristics, would be shipped to the plant and processed. Such a procedure would be consistent with the interests of sovkhoses, trade enterprises, and consumers.

Developing agro-industrial integration, we must not ignore its initial stage--strengthening the economic and organizational-technological relations between agricultural enterprises and industrial processing enterprises regardless of departmental affiliation. Obviously, we must organize better control of the work of meat combines and interfarm livestock-feeding enterprises. They could adopt joint production and processing schedules, consolidated by a contract, stipulating reciprocal material incentive and responsibility by the plant, the interfarm enterprise, and the breeding farms. Relations between sugar refineries and beet-planting farms could be developed similarly. So far kolkhozes and sovkhoses are not materially interested in the results of sugar refinery work. The result is that frequently low-grade beets are supplied to the plant as a result of which the necessary sugar production is not reached, for it depends on the type of strains planted, the type of hybrids, growing technology, sowing and harvesting periods, field and plant storage quality, and so. Such problems must be resolved by the beet-growing farms and sugar refineries on a reciprocal responsibility basis.

In our view planned economic and organizational measures must be adopted capable of exerting a decisive influence on upgrading the quality of the work at all levels of the technological chain in the production of agricultural commodities, including the final product. Such problems require the making of respective decisions by the central authorities and experimentation.

A great deal of work remains to be done. The party, soviet, and economic authorities and all working people in the countryside of our oblast are trying to resolve the problems stipulated in the party's comprehensive program for the development of socialist agriculture in an organized and creative way, relying on science. This is a nationwide project, for which reason we understand the enthusiasm with which the Soviet people welcomed the CPSU Central Committee Letter to kolkhoz members, sovkhoz workers, mechanizers, scientists, agricultural specialists, industrial workers supplying the villages with material and technical facilities, and all working people in the Soviet Union, as well as the decrees passed by the CPSU Central Committee, USSR Council of Ministers, AUCCTU, and Komsomol Central Committee on the All-Union Socialist Competition calling for joining actively the socialist competition for reaching high agricultural standards in 1977, expressing the confidence that during the anniversary year they will write a new vivid page in the development of this vitally important economic sector. Competing in honor of the 60th anniversary of the Great October Revolution and for upgrading production effectiveness and work quality, and for the successful implementation of the 10th Five-Year Plan, like the working people throughout the country, the oblast working people are assuming new higher pledges whose implementation will provide a new powerful impulse to the development of our economy.

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## ECONOMIC INCENTIVE SYSTEM AND PRODUCTION EFFECTIVENESS

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[Article by Yu. Yarkin published as a basis for discussion]

[Text] The socialist economic management systems offer broad scope for the most effective application of the achievements of the scientific and technical revolution and the accelerated development of production forces. However, the maximal utilization of such possibilities calls for the steady improvement of the country's economic mechanism.

The 25th CPSU Congress emphasized the need for the better utilization of economic incentives and levers such as cost accounting, profits, prices, and bonuses, and for improving the overall system of indicators on which ministries, associations, and enterprises base their activities. "Such indicators," stated Comrade Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev, Central Committee general secretary, presenting the CPSU Central Committee Accountability Report, "are aimed at combining the interests of the worker with those of the enterprise, and the interests of the enterprise with those of the state, and to encourage the adoption (and, naturally, implementation) of intensive plans, save resources, and lower production costs and, at the same time, master more rapidly the production of new types of commodities, and produce high-quality goods in the necessary variety."

We believe that the fastest possible implementation of this task demands, above all, a fuller utilization of the specifics of the production organization and the nature of acquisition (distribution) of the results of work under socialism within the entire planning, management, and economic incentive system.

Cost Accounting and Coordinating the Interests of the Individual, the Collective, and Society.

One of the basic characteristics of public ownership relations is that it combines within every worker the roles of the direct producer and the owner (collective owner) of public capital assets. The role of the working people

as co-owners of public capital assets and as the main productive force is directly manifested in the primary production units (cost accounting organizations, enterprises, and associations), or wherever they work. It is precisely here that the working people have greater possibilities actively to influence the increased effectiveness of the utilization of public capital goods. This characteristic of socialist ownership has a decisive influence on the nature of acquisition of production results. The specific mechanism of distribution according to labor and the entire system of moral and material incentive of the working people cannot fail to reflect their double function in public production--that of direct producers and co-owners of capital goods. This, we believe, includes a certain contradiction which is, however, non-antagonistic. It is resolved above all by properly combining the interests of society, the collective, and the individual through the system of material incentive of the working people.

As direct producers the working people receive individual wages based on the quantity and quality of the work invested in the commodities they have produced on the basis of the state plan. Whether or not such commodities are simple and obsolete or modern and highly effective does not influence in the least individual wages. Furthermore, workers possessing the same skill and qualification are paid, as a rule, the same wage for an equal amount of labor, even whenever as a result of different technical standards at such enterprises or different labor organization some workers may produce a considerably higher volume of similar goods compared with others. This form of material incentive is of tremendous significance to upgrading individual labor productivity. However, it hardly influences end production results. Yet, as co-owners of the public production process, the working people are profoundly interested in improving end production results and in increasing the contribution of the individual worker and the entire collective to the social product. Consequently, the very nature of public ownership calls for the development in all working people of a direct material interest in the results of collective labor. The contemporary development of this type of interest is related to the beginning of the application of the new methods of planning and economic incentive (1966) through the enterprise bonus funds.

The effectiveness of the collective material incentive funds is determined by the fact that the volume of bonus funds and, therefore, the size of the bonuses awarded the working people out of the material incentive fund must depend, on the one hand, on the enterprise's production effectiveness, i.e., on the results of collective labor, established, in the final account, by the contribution of the collective to the social product and the economy of social labor. On the other hand, the share of the worker in such funds and, particularly, in the material incentive fund depends on his participation in improving the results of the collective labor and on his individual labor contribution, and the quality and quantity of the labor he has invested, assessed in terms of his personal earnings or salary. Here the material interests of the individual, the collective, and society blend. What is advantageous to society becomes directly advantageous to the given

collective and its members. The possibility arises for maximally coordinating the material interests of the individual, the collective, and society and for directing their efforts toward accelerating the development of output and upgrading its effectiveness.

Naturally, public material incentive plays a most important role in the process of coordinating such interests. Under socialism every working person and each production collective is interested in centralized planned economic management, in the activities of the general managing economic center, and the withholding of a considerable share of the added product for deposit in the centralized state fund. It is only in the presence of such factors that conditions could be secured for the utilization of the advantages offered by public ownership and of expanded reproduction at each individual enterprise and in society as a whole, the achievement of maximal effectiveness of individual and collective material incentive, and the most efficient organization of the satisfaction of requirements concerning education, medical services, social security, housing, and so on.

Three of the basic forms of material incentive of the working people for upgrading social production effectiveness--the individual, collective, and social--exist objectively. However, the nature and effectiveness of their implementation depend on subjective activities, on the economic policy of the socialist state. At the present time such forms of material incentive are achieved (stimulated), respectively, mainly through wages, payments based on profits through incentive funds, and use of social consumption funds.<sup>1</sup> However, the effectiveness of incentive in the socialist economy depends not only on the overall quantity of material and cultural goods used for such a purpose but also on the way they are divided based on the three sources of income, and on the quantitative correlation existing among wages, bonuses based on profits, and income from social funds. One of the most important tasks in socialist economic management is to determine and insure at each development stage the type of quantitative correlation among these three basic sources of income of the working people so as to maximally energize their impact on upgrading production effectiveness.

In order for each of the three basic sources of working people's income under socialism to fulfill most effectively its basic function, we must reach its stipulated amount in absolute and relative terms. In this respect, more than ever before, today we must improve collective material incentive.

This is due essentially to two reasons. First, because in the current five-year plan particular attention is being paid to upgrading production quality and effectiveness, to which this precise form of incentive is directly linked.

Secondly, because prior to the economic reform, lesser attention was being paid to collective material incentive and because its incentive mechanism is still largely undeveloped. This is confirmed, in particular, by the fact that material incentive funds account for slightly over nine percent of the

wage fund. Yet, bonuses from incentive funds should increase in every worker the desire to improve not only individual but collective labor results, and actively struggle for the best possible utilization of production capacities, raw materials, and working time both at the individual job as well as the shop, plant, and association as a whole. However, the desired results may not be reached if the bonus amounts are insignificant. Studying the experience of a number of plants which have used various methods to stimulate collective labor results (the Voronezh Excavators Plant imeni Komintern, Moscow Electrical Machine-Building Dinamo Plant imeni Kirov, and others) the conclusion is possible that in order to intensify the positive effect of this incentive method, along with a number of other conditions, we must considerably increase payments from incentive funds (up to 20-30 percent of basic wages) for activities aimed at improving end production results.

In our view, increasing collective material incentive will contribute to the more energetic development of a communist attitude toward public ownership. We know that cases of production theft are still frequent in our country. One of the reasons for this phenomenon is the passive attitude adopted by some collectives toward the petty thieves of the people's property. This is explained not only by insufficient ideological and educational work but, apparently, also by the fact that such theft does not hit anyone's pocket-book. In our view, the damage caused as a result of the theft of socialist property or of a negligent attitude toward it, leading to the loss of raw materials, finished products, and so on, should be covered partially out of the bonus funds. In such a case the connection between the income of the individual working person and the careful attitude toward public property and the most efficient utilization of raw materials, materials, and machines will become clearer. This will contribute to energizing the struggle against the wasters of public property.

Naturally, the amount of material incentive funds could be increased only through higher production effectiveness. This calls for substantial improvements in the entire incentive system and the creation of the type of economic and legal conditions which would maximally contribute to the utilization of production reserves, assigning to each production collective a certain share of the economic benefits achieved as a result of the implementation of organizational and technical measures (naturally, providing that they do not conflict with public interests). The cost accounting system through which, essentially, collective material incentive is achieved is aimed at creating such conditions.

With the development of production forces and production relations the ways and means for the application of the cost accounting system improve. Naturally, the development of the scientific and technical revolution and the fact that the Soviet economy has entered the stage of mature socialism called for substantial changes both in the organizational and technical structure of the production process as well as within the system of cost accounting relations.

## Insuring Cost Accounting Continuity is a Prerequisite for its Effectiveness

The basic direction to be followed in improving cost accounting relations in our economy was formulated in the decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress. This includes, above all, increasing the material and moral interest of enterprise, association, and ministry workers in extensively applying the achievements of science and technology, improving the quality indicators of enterprise work, and upgrading production effectiveness. To this effect, in our view, we must insure, above all, the functional continuity of the entire cost accounting mechanism. As we know, so far the practice has prevailed of the annual formulation of enterprise production-financial plans. In fact, this limits the effect of cost accounting incentives to a single year. If as a result of successful work by the end of the year an enterprise (association) shows a surplus of working capital the ministry takes this surplus and redistributes it among the other enterprises. If the enterprise worked fully and failed to fulfill its accumulations plan its managers may be criticized. However, following the drafting of the annual report, working capital shortages are replenished at the expense of the funds taken from other enterprises or out of state budget funds. Essentially, so far there has been no economic correlation between the result of the work of cost accounting units in the current year and the funds allocated to them the following year. This conflicts with the essence of cost accounting.

The changes which are taking place in the organizational and technical structure of the production process, and the conversion of the production association into the basic cost accounting economic unit, on the one hand, drastically increase the need for securing the continuity of cost accounting and of annual production results, particularly by creating financial reserves for cost accounting units; on the other, they facilitate the solution of the problem. The Regulation on the Production Association (Combine), passed by the USSR Council of Ministers, proves that matters are not limited merely to concentrating output within a single economic complex, or to the purely organizational aspect for consolidating the basic cost accounting unit in industry. The most important characteristics of this process are the expansion of the rights and obligations of the cost accounting unit and its relative economic autonomy. The rights of associations are being broadened in terms of industrial construction, handling financial resources, wages, and so on. Therefore, it is a question of a new step in the implementation of the party's decisions on the further development of cost accounting relations in the country's economy. Under such circumstances the procedure governing the formation and utilization of the finances of the association, including financial reserves, as stipulated in the new statute, assumes particular significance.

As we know, in the socialist economy, the purpose of the system of payments to the budget is not only to insure the satisfaction of national needs but to exert an active stimulating impact on the economic activities of production collectives. However, far from all the opportunities of such an

influence are being used. So far, approximately 35 percent of all enterprise profits (or about 60 percent of all their payments to the budget) are deposited as so-called free profit surplus. Such payments have no stimulating influence either on the growth of output or on upgrading its effectiveness.<sup>2</sup> Deposits of the so-called profit surplus are not governed by norms. Simply the entire profit in excess of the preplanned percentage for production requirements and bonus funds are taken away from the enterprises. Under such conditions the procedure for computing budget revenue is a matter of indifference to the enterprise--whether it is as free surplus or as payments for capital assets, as a result of which the stimulating role of payments for assets is reduced as well.

In principle no one objects to the need for finding an acceptable method for reducing payments to the budget of the free profit surplus by increasing payments based on economically substantiated norms. A great deal has been said and specific suggestions have been made on how to implement this in practice. In our view, the most promising solution to this problem is the suggestion (published in its time by the press) of introducing differentiated norms of withholdings in percentage of practical profits determined on the basis of a progressive graduated rate scale based on profitability. Under such a procedure, as enterprise profitability grows, the share of profits to be paid to the budget will rise. Modern computers enable us to determine with adequate accuracy, on the basis of reports submitted by enterprises on the amount of profits and profitability, the optimal variant of the graded taxation rate in order to meet both the interests of the state budget as well as the planned requirements of enterprises. The indirect result of such a solution to the problem will be the substantial reduction of the administrative apparatus currently engaged in scrupulously estimating each item of the production-financial plans at all management levels.

The establishment of an automatic system of normative budget payments will develop in the enterprises the confidence that they will keep a fixed percentage of the profits following the fulfillment of their obligations to the budget and the withholdings for all planned enterprise funds (incentive funds, working assets, and others), and will be the result of the improved work of the collective. This will contribute to the further development of output, to upgrading its effectiveness, and to improving working conditions and quality of output.

With such a procedure for payments to the budget, adequately working cost accounting enterprises and organizations will develop certain long-term financial reserves or accumulations over and above the established incentive funds. The better a collective of an enterprise will work the bigger, as a rule, will such reserves be. They will accumulate over a longer period of time a certain percentage of the economic effect (not conflicting with national economic requirements) obtained by the production collective by lowering material intensiveness, upgrading production quality (based on markups given for earning the Emblem of Quality), and improved utilization of capital assets, manpower, raw materials, fuel, and so on.

The cost accounting economic units should be given the right to increase out of such funds, on an annual basis, their own bonus funds and production development funds on the basis of stipulated percentages and providing that the basic plan indicators have been met or, perhaps, providing that a single indicator such as the implementation of cost accounting procurement contracts has been achieved. It is essentially out of such funds that fines would be paid for failure to meet cooperated deliveries, production of faulty goods, delivery of unfinished or ineffective types of new equipment or new goods by scientific research or design organizations, either members of such associations or operating on an autonomous basis.<sup>3</sup> As we know, at the present time fines for the failure of cooperated deliveries account for an insignificant part of the damage caused. This does not contribute to the upgrading of planning discipline in the national economy. With the existing enterprise funds increasing such fines is undereffective, for, in fact, they can be paid out only from the free profit surplus, i.e., at the expense of reducing payments to the budget. The existence of financial reserves "earned" by the collectives, in accordance with the conditions we have explained, would drastically upgrade the responsibility of production collectives for the implementation of cost accounting contracts covering all items.

Enterprise accumulations as financial reserves over and above bonus funds would "link" the enterprise annual plans into a continuous chain. It would enable them to develop an effective and permanent interest in the collective in the steady improvement of the technical level of output and its effectiveness. This will insure cost accounting continuity.

The assets of the reserve financial funds, even though temporarily available, will not be withheld from national economic circulation. Their temporary redistribution, on a refundable basis, would become possible. An enterprise possessing available funds could deposit them in a special account with the ministry (or main administration) as a repayable term or open-end deposit. The ministry (or main administration) would be able to use such funds for granting loans to cost accounting organizations which need a replenishment of working capital during the current year or else meet other planned expenditures.

#### On the Basic Assessment Indicator of Enterprise Activities

The organization of enterprise financial reserves will yield maximal results only when their work indicators, particularly the basic rating indicator, will reflect most objectively the contribution of the collectives to improvements in production results and in the public product. This problem could be considered on the basis of the experience existing in the creation and utilization of enterprise incentive funds. One of the cornerstones of the improvement in methods of planning, management, and incentive undertaken in our country in the Eighth Five-Year Plan was the increased connection between the income earned by the working people and

the effectiveness of their collective efforts. Initially it seemed possible to achieve this rapidly by making payments to the incentive funds of the enterprises based on the growth rates of sales (or profits) and the factual production profitability. However, it turned out that such indicators frequently failed to reflect the factual contribution of the collective to upgrading production effectiveness, for they depend essentially on capital investments allocated on a centralized basis, different production profitability, changes in the cost of raw materials and complementing goods, and so on.

In the Ninth Five-Year Plan withholdings for incentive funds were made dependent not only on the relative growth rates of output but also on the implementation of planned assignments from the beginning of the five-year plan on a cumulative basis. This somewhat increased the interest of the enterprises in adopting intensive plans. However, it did not contribute to stimulating the growth of production effectiveness. Subsequently, this shortcoming was corrected by introducing additional payments to incentive funds based on the growth rates of labor productivity and on the share of superior quality goods in the overall volume of output.

Currently yet another prerequisite is being introduced in this procedure: additional withholdings for incentive funds for the overfulfillment of capital-forming indicators will be made only if the enterprises (associations) fulfill their assignments and obligations for commodity deliveries in accordance with the variety and nomenclature stipulated in economic contracts. However, in order for all such measures to play their assigned role we must surmount the shortcomings which have become apparent in the present basic assessment indicator--the volume of goods marketed--in the activities of the collectives of cost accounting units in the national economy.

Practical experience shows that under developed socialist conditions and the rising production specialization and cooperation the production marketed indicator loses its function as a basic assessment indicator of labor results of production collectives. The main objective of the national economic system is to maximize results for the satisfaction of population and production requirements while minimizing outlays. The production marketed indicator in fact encourages cost accounting units to increase their outlays (since the latter increase the value of commodities marketed). We know, for example, that the increased cost of materials used, higher prices, fulfillment of assignments for the production of more expensive goods at the expense of less expensive ones, and so on, increase the volume of goods marketed by cost accounting units, even though they harm the national economy and hinder the struggle for economy. A marketed goods indicator, in our view, is necessary in the fields of planning and economic management, not in its present aspect but, rather, as a computation indicator or, in any case, not as a basic rating indicator.

Under the conditions of further production concentration, specialization, and cooperation national economic relations increase and become more complex. The interdependence among the results of the work of different cost accounting units is intensified. The nonfulfillment of procurements of some commodities disturbs the working rhythm of enterprises directly interlinked within the system of the social division of labor. In order for the national economic complex as a whole and for each of its units to work without interruptions and losses, and with maximal effectiveness we must insure, above all, the efficient implementation of contracts and reciprocal obligations for the delivery of raw materials, semi-finished goods, assemblies, and so on. It was no accident that the 25th CPSU Congress pointed out the great significance of an indicator such as fulfilling on time the procurement plan based on cost accounting contracts. The use of this indicator as a basic evaluation indicator would contribute to improving the work of the entire economic mechanism, and to upgrading the effectiveness of the socialist economy. In our view, however, such effectiveness is possible only by insuring the continuity of cost accounting and the establishment of enterprise financial reserves which, as we pointed out, will enable us to encourage more effectively the strict implementation of cost accounting contracts, impose stricter penalties for their violation, assess more objectively the efforts of the collectives aimed at upgrading production effectiveness and quality, and utilizing new reserves for the acceleration of technical progress.

#### On Specific Centralized Methods for Insuring Scientific and Technical Progress

In the CPSU Central Committee Accountability Report to the 25th party congress Comrade L. I. Brezhnev emphasized that we must improve the planning and economic incentive system in such a way as "to create conditions which would contribute to the fullest extent to the fastest possible processing of new ideas along the entire chain ranging from invention to mass production, erecting a reliable economic obstacle to the production of obsolete commodities."

Under the conditions of the scientific and technical revolution the social outlays for the development of science and for the creation of new equipment rise. This growth, naturally, is "covered" by the growth of labor productivity. However, the effectiveness and time for the repayment of the new equipment depend on a large number of factors. It is particularly important to take into consideration the ever-faster moral obsolescence of equipment. If the planned equipment prototypes do not include a high growth of its productivity compared with the replaced types by the time the serial production of such equipment has been mastered such prototypes may already be obsolete. Their utilization may not cause direct losses to society but nor would it yield the required results. Yet, the accelerated growth of social labor productivity and the drastic increase in the quality of output are required for the implementation of the party's socioeconomic program and for the building of the material and technical foundations for communism.

A great deal was done to resolve this problem in the course of the past five-year plan. The creation and mastering of the production of commodities consistent with or superior to world standards were encouraged intensively. The CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers passed a decree "On the Further Development of Inventions in the Country and Improving the Utilization in the National Economy of Discoveries, Inventions, and Rationalization Suggestions and on Upgrading their Role in the Acceleration of Scientific and Technical Progress." The price-setting of new commodities is improving. New scientific-production associations have been set up and the experimental pace of a number of scientific research establishments and enterprises is being broadened. All this, naturally, is yielding results. In the Ninth Five-Year Plan the country's industry mastered double the number of new types of commodities compared with the Eighth. The activeness and number of production innovators and the overall economic effectiveness of submitted and implemented technical solutions are growing with every passing year. However, no radical change has been achieved as yet in this field. As was noted at the 25th party congress "despite the fact that this question has been raised repeatedly and persistently, the practical utilization of the achievements of science and technology remains the bottleneck of many sectors to this day."

Naturally, the conversion to new management, planning, and economic incentive methods increased somewhat the interest of enterprises in production rationalization. In our view, this is confirmed, for example, by the rapidly growing number of rationalization suggestions and their effectiveness. However, the situation concerning inventions, i.e., the most effective suggestions which determine, above all, the increased technical standard of output and of items produced, is more complex. The number of submitted and accepted inventions is increasing as well. However, whereas five or six years ago one out of three registered inventions was utilized, today it is one out of every four, while the average economic effect per invention has declined approximately 2.5 times compared with 1966. This confirms, among others, the fact that the enterprises do not as yet have adequate material incentive for the development and utilization of major technical innovations, particularly if they are not included in the state or sectorial plans for new equipment. Their utilization is having an adverse effect on the economic indicators of the basic output, drawing away manpower, equipment, funds, and managerial time, and raising production costs. Frequently, in such cases, general outlays are so high that they seriously affect the overall economic activities of the collective: production profitability drops, and withholdings for incentive funds decline. As a result, the effect of the utilization of an innovation becomes available to society but frequently not at the enterprise where it was developed. In this case the economic mechanism has clearly become obsolete.

In order to accelerate technical progress and intensify output a variety of measures have been suggested to intensify the material incentive of enterprises and scientific and technical organizations to use effective

innovations. Added to the continuity of cost accounting and the organization of enterprise accumulations, naturally, this will bring results. However, in our view, the main direction to be followed in the solution of this problem is the fuller utilization of the advantages of the centralized management of the country's economy, in this case by insuring the active assistance to the objective process of further socialization of labor through specialization. However much we may increase the interest of enterprises in the creation and utilization of inventions, their possibilities in this respect are no longer so substantial, for their main objective is serial output.

Obviously, the solution lies in the specialization of the development of technical innovations and of equipment and technologies based on them. The contradiction between long-term and current enterprise interests and between their desire to insure stable basic output and the social requirement of rapidly replacing obsolete commodities with new and more productive ones is resolved by developing the relative economy of invention work aimed at supplying the enterprises with prototypes of new highly productive equipment ready to be manufactured. This problem is resolved partially by the scientific-production associations. However, they work within the sectors and their interests and possibilities are limited one way or another. Frequently the intersectorial use of innovations is the most effective. Therefore, one of the main ways for the solution of this problem is the establishment of intersectorial scientific and technical centers and cost accounting application firms in the country. Reflecting the profound need of the social production process for the specialization of invention work, such firms are being set up in our country despite their certain "non-recognition" and non-acceptance above all by the financial authorities in economic management. A number of such firms, after a fruitful beginning, unfortunately break down essentially because their activities have not become part of the existing economic management conditions or else because they have not been stipulated in such activities and require particular conditions and norms.

Under socialism inventions are part of the public wealth. Increasing their number broadens the scientific and technical possibilities for accelerating the development of the entire social production process and for upgrading its effectiveness. Therefore, the suggestion of introducing a single source for authorship rewards for inventions, regardless of the area of their possible application, is entirely justified. The All-Union Centralized Cost Accounting Rewards Fund for Inventions could become such a source. It would reward recognized authors owners of authorship invention certificates. This suggestion was formulated a long time ago. Unfortunately, its implementation has been delayed: so far it has not gone beyond the experimentation stage covering a relatively small territory (Latvia, and Sverdlovskaya and Gor'kovskaya oblasts). We believe that with such a centralized fund it would be expedient to set up organizations putting at the disposal of enterprises, against payment, not only all the necessary technical documentation but skilled technical assistance.

The creation and utilization of inventions is closely linked with the conditions governing the mastering of new output. We know that enterprises undertaking the production of new goods have higher costs. Furthermore, their possibility to increase the volume of output of already mastered goods becomes limited. All this frequently worsens quantitative and qualitative production indicators and reduces the collective's incentive funds. Taking into consideration that, with the development of the scientific and technical revolution the new equipment becomes evermore complex and expensive, we will see clearly the need to involve in its creation and utilization bigger resources compared with those at the disposal of enterprises or associations. Specific centralized methods must be developed for supporting and encouraging technical progress.

This is not a new problem. Toward the beginning of the 1960's bonus funds were initially set up in the machine-building and, subsequently, the metallurgical and many other industrial sectors for the development and utilization of new equipment, followed by funds for mastering its production. The purpose of the former was to increase the interest of the developers of new equipment in upgrading its technical standard, productivity, and economy, and to insure its fastest possible application by production workers. The role of the latter is to cover and partially credit increased enterprise outlays related to mastering the production of new commodities, thus materially interesting the collective in commodity renovation. Thus, the purpose of the specific funds for encouraging the development of technology under socialism is to coordinate the interests of society and the production collectives in accelerating scientific and technical progress and to create equally profitable initial conditions for the activities of cost accounting enterprises.

The operation of such target funds in the course of several five-year plans not only proved their usefulness but brought to light the need to increase effectiveness above all by improving the methods of their establishment and utilization. So far the production-mastering fund covers only a certain percentage of the higher costs of an enterprise mastering the production of new items. As a rule, withholdings for such a fund represent a certain percentage of the cost of goods in the first year of their output. In other words, the highest withholdings occur when the enterprise is mastering the production of the item and has big production outlays. At that time profitability declines.

Economic publications and the periodical press have published a number of suggestions on ways for upgrading the effectiveness of the fund for mastering the production of new equipment. The most effective seems to be the suggestion of increasing its amount by introducing additional withholdings from profits per unit of new equipment. Withholdings from the production costs of new commodities should be made starting with the second year of output and become progressive with each subsequent year. Providing that an item whose production has been long mastered has not become obsolete and is

needed by the national economy, for a certain period of time the ministry may stop the withholding increases. Under such a system enterprises with a high share of commodities produced over long periods of time would participate to a greater extent in the creation of sectorial funds; enterprises with a considerable amount of work for the development of new commodities would benefit from the redistribution mechanism of the sectorial fund, i.e., they would receive from it additional funds. Such changes could be used also for improving the so-called unified funds for the development of science and technology set up in a number of sectors (the ministries of electrical equipment industry, heavy and transport machine-building, and others), which combine the assets of the funds for mastering the production of new equipment, budget allocations for the development of industrial sectors, and some of the funds earned by scientific research institutes and design bureaus based on cost accounting contracts.

Obviously, in a way similar to the funds for mastering the production of new equipment it would be expedient to set up centralized funds for the utilization of inventions, to provide target financing and loans to cover outlays for the creation, further development, and utilization of major technical innovations at enterprises.

The need for the extensive use of centralized specific methods for the stimulation of scientific and technical progress in the socialist economy is dictated by the fact that the social national economic requirements for the development and utilization of new highly productive types of equipment and technological systems, involving high development outlays, can be met through the activities of cost accounting units. The contemporary conditions governing planning, management, and economic incentive require that a considerable percentage of the income of the working people be made dependent on the effectiveness with which the public capital goods used by a given production collective are operated. Naturally, society, as represented by the state (or by its sectorial economic management authority--the ministry) must not only compensate the manufacturing enterprise for its outlays for the creation and mastering of the production of new commodities needed by the national economy; its collective must be materially interested in renovating the variety, and upgrading the quality of goods produced using a variety of specific funds which are economic forms of centralized management of scientific and technical progress, of coordinating the interests of the individual, the collective, and society in this area, and of insuring the necessary conditions for the normal cost accounting activities of enterprises.

The Soviet Union has a powerful economic potential, huge material resources, and the powerful force of free labor. The fastest and most systematic implementation of the course formulated at the 25th CPSU Congress for improving the economic mechanism in the country will enable us to make fuller use of the advantages of the new social system, use the tremendous reserves available to the socialist economy for accelerating the growth of output and upgrading its effectiveness, and achieving a new upsurge in the material and cultural standards of the people.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. Naturally, such a classification is somewhat arbitrary. In fact, it is considerably more complex. Some of the social funds, for example, are also distributed in accordance with the labor contribution of the worker. The saved part of the wage fund (for example under working conditions based on the Shchekino experience or the experience of the Moscow Dinamo Plant) could be used to promote collective material interest in final labor results.
2. The payment for fixed capital has not become the main payment to the budget and accounts for less than 30 percent of all payments based on profits; fixed payments have not become widespread mainly because of the complexity of their calculation.
3. A typical case could be cited in favor of the implementation of this measure. In the three years of mastering the operation of 200-ton electric furnaces, the Krasnyy Oktyabr' Metallurgical Plant in Volgograd suffered a loss of 12 million rubles essentially because of structural incompleteness. One-half of this amount was covered by the Ministry of Ferrous Metallurgy out of the centralized fund for the development of new equipment; the balance directly affected plant production costs, worsening economic indicators and, in several years, converting a leading enterprise into a "lagging" enterprise. Consequently, withholdings for the plant's material incentive funds for those years declined by 1.2 million rubles. The main culprit for the losses--an institute under another ministry--who submitted the incomplete project suffered no material harm, for it had no accumulations whatever and could not be forced to pay a penalty.

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## SOVIETS--ORGANS OF THE REVOLUTIONARY CREATIVITY OF THE MASSES

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 4, Mar 77 pp 60-71

[Article by B. Morozov, doctor of historical sciences]

[Text] The Soviet people, the direct heirs and continuators of the cause of the Great October Revolution, welcome the bright and happy holiday--the 60th anniversary of the victorious proletarian revolution--under the sign of new victories in the building of communism and the implementation of the historical decisions of the 25th Leninist Party Congress.

The CPSU Central Committee decree "On the 60th Anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution" notes the decisive role of the people's masses in the revolution, and of the creative energy of the working people in the elaboration of new and previously unheard of forms of political life. The creation of soviets of worker, soldier, and peasant deputies was an outstanding act of the revolutionary creativity of the masses.

V. I. Lenin repeatedly indicated the need for a thorough study and summation of the very rich experience of soviet work. His works contain an all-round scientific analysis of the basic conditions governing the establishment and development of the soviets; they provide an unsurpassed deep description of their history as revolutionary authorities created on the initiative of the people's masses. Lenin elaborated the most important concepts on the Soviet republic as a new type of state. He showed the basic difference between socialist and bourgeois democracy, developed the principles governing democratic centralism on which the Soviet system is based, and described the ways and means of its work. He considered the appearance of soviets as "something great, new, and unparalleled in the history of world revolution" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], Volume 35, page 238).

As we know, the soviets appeared in the course of the first Russian revolution. They were not set up by decree of any given party but were established by the working people themselves. One of the most important factors for their creation was the mass striking movement in Russia. As the revolution grew, from striking organs the soviets converted into organs of the uprising.

The Russian proletariat covered the path from strike committees, worker commissions, commissions of deputies, and assemblies of deputies and delegates to soviets of worker deputies.

During the 1905-1907 revolution 62 soviets appeared in the country. A study of their party structure indicates that 47 of them, i.e., the overwhelming majority, were headed by bolsheviks or were under their influence. This very fact refutes the claims of the bourgeois falsifiers of history to the effect that, allegedly, the bolsheviks were against the soviets and that the mensheviks were those who initiated their establishment.

On the basis of a profound study of the 1905 experience, Lenin proved that as embryonic authorities of the revolutionary system the soviets could become fully representative state power authorities. "The soviets of worker deputies, etc.," he wrote in July 1906, "represented in fact the embryos of a provisional government; had the uprising been victorious they would have inevitably assumed the power" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Volume 13, page 324). This was an exceptionally important conclusion concerning the soviets as organs of the revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry.

It was precisely the experience of 1905 that was used by the workers and soldiers when they established the soviets in the course of the February 1917 revolution. The establishment of soviets was of decisive significance to the organization of the people's masses, and the further development of the revolution. "If the soviets had not been created as early as February 1917 as a result of the people's creativity of the Russian revolution with its great experience of 1905," Lenin said, "in no case would they have been able to seize the power in October, for the success depended only on the existence of already established organizational forms of a movement which encompassed millions of people" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Volume 36, page 6).

In his work "Marxism on the State," written in January-February 1917, Lenin reached the conclusion that, similar to the Paris Commune, the purpose of the soviets was to replace the old bourgeois governmental machinery broken down by the proletariat.

As the most decisive and consistent fighter against the autocracy, in February 1917 the working class was the initiator of the establishment of soviets of worker, soldier, and peasant deputies which were powerful revolutionary organizations. The Bolshevik Party directed the tempestuous process of the revolutionary creativity of the broad popular masses. In the very first days of the February revolution Lenin considered the creation of soviets in all parts of Russia without exception and their inclusion of all strata without exception of the proletarian and semi-proletarian population as a task of prime significance.

On 27 February the Russian bureau of the RSDWP (b) Central Committee addressed a manifesto "To All Citizens of Russia," which, as Lenin subsequently pointed out, called upon "all workers, peasants, and soldiers to choose delegates for the soviet of worker deputies" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Volume 31, page 74).

The bolshevik organizations initiated the creation of soviets, while the bolsheviks became their most active deputies. On 28 February the Moscow bureau of the RSDWP (b) Central Committee turned to the workers of Moscow and Moscow Oblast with the appeal to choose deputies for a soviet. The following day the Moscow bolshevik committee wrote the following in its appeal: "...it is necessary to create an institution which would assume the management of Moscow in its hands. We must immediately elect a soviet of worker deputies...let workers at all factories and plants choose their deputies..." It called upon the workers and soldiers to elect to the soviet "firm people with a revolutionary awareness, and with a clear understanding of the great tasks of the working class."

With the most direct participation of the bolsheviks soviets were created in many cities throughout the country. Literally in a few days they appeared in Ivanovo-Voznesensk, Nizhniy Novgorod, Saratov, Yekaterinburg, Kiev, Minsk, Baku, Khar'kov, and other cities and rayons.

The establishment of soviets in 1917 was a manifestation of the great creative force of the working class and all working people. Workers and soldiers considered them as the authorities and elected four of them their representatives. In the central industrial rayon of the country, for example, by the end of March 1917 soviets of worker deputies had been set up in over 70 cities and factory settlements, numbering up to 1.5 million workers. This confirms the fact that from the very beginning the proletariat played a leading role in the soviets.

On bolshevik initiative not only the soviets of workers but joint soviets of worker and soldier deputies were set up. As a single organization, they embodied the revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry. Their prestige among the working people was exceptionally high.

The broad soldier and peasant masses actively participated in revolutionary creativity. It was the first time for the majority among them to engage in active social work. In the soviets they underwent a political training and, under bolshevik guidance, learned how to become aware of and defend their class interests. The Bolshevik Party worked comprehensively for the creation and strengthening of the alliance between the working class and the toiling peasantry. It exposed the conciliationist policy of mensheviks and Esers. It considered the creation of soviets of hired hands in the rural areas its most important political task, considering them as the basic link between the proletariat and the peasantry. Through the workers and soldiers the party promoted the idea of soviets among the toiling peasants. On 25 July 1917 guberniya and uyezd soviets of peasant deputies had been set up in 55 out of 78 guberniyas and in 399 out of 654 uyezds.

The primary peasant soviets--volost and, partially, uyezd--were closer to the masses of the toiling peasantry compared with the guberniya soviets. They tried to establish the undivided power of peasant organizations in the countryside and to eliminate the old rural authorities. The peasantry believed that the just solution of the agrarian problem was possible only if local affairs would be resolved by the peasants themselves through their soviets. Thus, on 16 June 1917 it was proclaimed in Nikolayevskiy Uyezd, Samarskaya Guberniya, that the local soviet is the "supreme political power in the uyezd, safeguarding the interests of the toiling peasantry and, in general, of the entire toiling democracy."

However, despite the tremendous and historically unparalleled scope of the revolutionary initiative of the masses, the soviets faced a complex period of development, full of class struggle, before becoming the organs of proletarian power.

After the February revolution both menshiviks and Esers tried to convert the soviets into an appendix of the bourgeois provisional government. They did everything possible to discredit the idea of soviet power, and to debase the mass organizations of working people, openly describing the soviets as temporary organizations to be replaced by the permanent institutions of a bourgeois-republican system.

The political naivete of millions of people who had emerged in the arena of social life, mass anti-bolshevik repressions in the period preceding February 1917, and a number of other reasons led to the fact that the bolsheviks became a minority in the soviets. The February bourgeois-democratic revolution which took place in the country with a tremendous predominance of the petty bourgeois population, elevated menshiviks and Esers to the crest of the wave. It was precisely they who, immediately following the February events, seized the majority in the soviets. At that time the soviets voluntarily yielded their power to the bourgeois provisional government. The characteristics of the political circumstances at that time were that twin power was established in the country. There were two dictatorships: revolutionary-democratic, represented by the soviets of worker and soldier deputies, and bourgeois, represented by the provisional government. Both dictatorships operated simultaneously and neither one of them enjoyed full power.

V. I. Lenin carefully studied and analyzed the activities of the soviets at that time, noting anything that was new and most essential in the nature and methods of work of these organs of the revolutionary power of workers and peasants. On the basis of the experience of the Paris Commune and the two Russian revolutions, he formulated the conclusion that a Soviet republic was the most expedient political form of a proletarian state in Russia. The soviets of worker and soldier deputies, said he on 4 April 1917, are a step toward socialism. While menshiviks and Esers favored a bourgeois parliamentary republic in Russia, in his April theses Lenin said: "There

should be no parliamentary republic, for going back to it from soviets of worker deputies, would represent a step backward, but a republic of soviets of workers, farm hands, and peasant deputies throughout the country, from top to bottom" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Volume 31, page 115). Lenin's conclusion was the further development of the Marxist theory of the forms of political organization of society. Lenin's April theses armed the party and the working class with a powerful weapon in the struggle for the victory of the socialist revolution in Russia and for the conversion of the soviets into state authorities.

Ignoring the truth, foreign anti-communist historians are trying to distort the idea contained in Lenin's April theses. Ignoring the unbreakable ties between the bolsheviks and the revolutionary masses, they ascribe bolshevism a voluntaristic nature of activities, trying to depict the party as a group of conspirators.

V. I. Lenin emphasized the special historical role played by the soviets in the further development of the revolution, considering them a powerful force in the revolutionary reorganization of Russia on the path to socialism. "...the only guarantee for the freedom and destruction of tsarism to the end," he wrote immediately after February 1917, "is to arm the proletariat, and to strengthen, expand, and develop the role, significance, and forces of the soviet of worker deputies" (ibid, page 20). Lenin proved that the soviets are revolutionary organizations of the majority of the people, directly and immediately expressing its will. It is precisely they which are the best method for the unification of semi-proletarian toiling masses around the working class. In its resolution on the soviets of worker and soldier deputies, the Seventh (April) All-Russian Conference of the RSDWP (b) pointed out the need for a systematic struggle for the triumph of the bolshevik line in the soviets: "...all-round work must be done within the soviets of worker and soldier deputies. We must increase their number and strengthen their forces and rally within them the proletarian and internationalist groups of our party" ("Sed'maya (Aprel'skaya) Vserossiyskaya Konferentsiya RSDRP (Bol'shevikov). Protokoly" [Seventh (April) All-Russian Conference of the RSDWP (bolsheviks). Minutes]. Gospolitizdat, Moscow, 1958, page 260).

Taking into consideration the factual deployment of class forces in the country, Lenin indicated the only possible way for transferring the power to the soviets under such circumstances--the peaceful development of the revolution. The implementation of the slogan "All Power to the Soviets!" would have resulted in the peaceful removal from power of the bourgeoisie, the elimination of the old power system, and its replacement by the new and truly democratic apparatus of the soviets. The revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry would have grown into the socialist dictatorship of the proletariat. Under the slogan of "All Power to the Soviets!" the Bolshevik Party was creating, training, rallying, and mobilizing the political army of the socialist revolution. It was doing a tremendous deal of work to expose and isolate the conciliationist menshevik and Eser parties.

V. I. Lenin pointed out that as long as our party was a minority in the soviets, and as long as they were dominated by the bloc of mensheviks and Esers--promoters of the bourgeois influence on the proletariat--its task was to gain the majority in the soviets, and to explain on a daily basis, patiently, to the masses that the soviets were the only possible form of revolutionary government. Exposing mensheviks and Esers, the party rallied the masses around its political slogans and gained prestige within the soviets. As a result of the tireless efforts of the Bolshevik Party which exerted double pressure on the soviets ("from below"--from the masses--and "from the outside"--from the bolshevik faction), the anti-national nature of menshevik and Eser policy became ever clearer to workers and soldiers.

The local bolshevik party organizations waged extensive organizational and explanatory work among the masses through the soviets, making them realize national political and economic problems, and contributing to the destruction of age-old legends created by the exploiters to the effect that only representatives of the privileged classes could, allegedly, rule the state.

In a number of big cities and industrial centers, where bolshevik influence was particularly strong, the single rule of the soviets was established in fact long before the victory of the October Revolution. Soviets in which the bolsheviks played a leading role held a consistent revolutionary position and became the factual authorities of the workers and peasants (Ivanovo-Voznesensk, Krasnoyarsk, Riga, and others). Even though there were few such soviets, their bold revolutionary initiative was an example to the working people.

The revolutionary activities of the Kronshtadt Soviet of Worker and Soldier Deputies wrote a glorious page in the history of the soviets. Here the bolsheviks gained the majority. The Kronshtadt commissar of the provisional government was factually removed from power and forced to submit his resignation. The Kronshtadt Soviet proclaimed itself the only authority in the city. The provisional government was forced to appoint as its commissar to Kronshtadt the representative recommended by the soviet. Under the influence of the bolsheviks the Kronshtadt Soviet introduced an eight-hour work day, set the wages of workers and employees, assumed control over production, distribution, and consumption of raw materials and food, and organized the defense of the fortress. Lenin, who carefully followed the Kronshtadt advance, noted that the actions of its soviets confirmed that "in some places the revolution has developed further than in Piter" (Poln. Sobr. Soch., "Volume 32, page 218).

The soviets of worker and soldier deputies were the most widespread and all-embracing class organizations of the working people. Their activities proved the inexhaustible energy and creative initiative of the masses. The revolutionary workers, soldiers, and seamen actively participated in the implementation of Lenin's slogan "All Power to the Soviets!" This was a

complex process in the development of the revolution. At different times and in different areas the factual authority of the soviets varied, based on a number of factors which, taken together, expressed the ratio of forces between the revolution and the counterrevolution.

The revolutionary activities of the soviets in the course of their conversion into sovereign state authorities were exceptionally varied. In a number of cases they assumed judiciary functions, trying criminal and civil cases and issuing sentences. Spontaneous judiciary-investigative authorities were set up at many soviets.

The party comprehensively supported the soviets in the development of the revolutionary movement of the peasants, for "the soviets of soldier and peasant deputies alone could resolve the great problem of the land not in the interest of land-owners and not bureaucratically" (V. I. Lenin, "Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Volume 31, page 188). Under the influence of the Bolshevik Party the soviets joined in the struggle for the seizure of landed estates without awaiting the convention of the Constituent Assembly. On 22 April 1917 PRAVDA published Lenin's article "Shingarev's advice or order, and the advice of a local soviet of worker and soldier deputies." Lenin warmly supported the decision of the Akkerman Soviet of Worker and Soldier Deputies to requisition through the commissar all available privately owned land for cultivation. Similar decisions were passed by many peasant soviets. This was a true revolutionary war which blended within a single revolutionary current with the struggle waged by the working class for the overthrow of bourgeois power. The soviets of peasant deputies took the side of the Bolshevik Party and began to implement its revolutionary slogans on the agrarian problem, acting as the official authority.

The intervention of the soviets in the administrative-economic life of the country was guaranteed by their control of factual armed forces. Headed by the bolshevik organizations, the working class began to create such forces from the very first days of the February bourgeois-democratic revolution.

On the revolutionary initiative of the masses some soviets set up a militia. The soviets tried to strengthen the class principle in its establishment, involving in it representatives of the toiling population, workers above all. This was specifically mentioned in PRAVDA, in its 14 April 1917 report from Kanavin, Nizhegorodskaya Guberniya. On this occasion Lenin wrote the article "On the Proletarian Militia" in which he called for following the example of the Nizhegorod workers, and leading "the tremendous masses of proletariat and semi-proletariat to master the art of state administration and the handling of all governmental power" (Ibid, page 288).

In April 1917 the RSDWP (b) Central Committee appealing to the masses to work for amending the policy pursued by the menshevik-Eser leadership of the soviets, emphasized the tremendous significance of reelections to the further development of the revolution. The party turned to the masses with the

appeal to send to the soviets deputies who would firmly implement the wishes of those who had elected them. "In all cases in which delegates do not represent the view of the majority, reelections must take place in factories and barracks," the Central Committee emphasized.

The bolshevik platform for soviet reelections was explained by Lenin in his "Instruction to Deputies Elected to the Soviets of Worker and Soldier Deputies at Plants and Barracks." On 7 (20) May PRAVDA published a "draft instructions for the election of delegates to soviets or worker and soldier deputies," based on that document. Discussing the power, the draft pointed out that "all power in the country must belong only to the soviets of workers, soldiers, peasants, and other deputies..." The soviet deputies were mandated to implement strictly the instructions of workers and revolutionary soldiers.

The voters made extensive use of the right to recall deputies as codified in some bylaws and regulations governing soviets. They replaced their deputy whenever his political actions were inconsistent with the will of the majority. In the period of preparations for the October Revolution in Russia the right to recall deputies played a considerable role in the bolshevization of the soviets and in the struggle for the victory of the socialist revolution.

The Bolshevik Party rallied the revolutionary masses and promoted its line in the soviets through the bolshevik factions. They played a major role in the struggle for taking over and strengthening the soviets and countering menshevik and Eser tactics. Thus, in March the bolshevik faction of the Petrograd Soviet numbered some 40 people; by the middle of April it already numbered some 120. At the beginning of July it numbered 400 deputies. At that point it held about one-half of the seats of the worker and about 25 percent of the soldier sections.

The process of bolshevization was developing in other soviets as well. In June 205 out of the 625 deputies to the Moscow Soviet were bolsheviks. This was the largest party faction with a considerable group of supporters. The bolsheviks achieved considerable successes. The bolshevik slogan of "All Power to the Soviets!" became widely popular.

After the July events the counterrevolution launched a counteroffensive. A political crisis developed in the country showing that the class struggle for the seizure of power had become aggravated. The treacherous policy of the mensheviks and Esers led to the fact that the soviets became a rightless appendage to the provisional government. The July events made the working people realize the real nature of the provisional government. Resorting to various types of fabrications, the falsifiers of the history of the October Revolution claim that one of the reasons for the "bolshevik success" was that the provisional government and the conciliationist leadership displayed "weakness" and "indecision" in fighting them. They would rather

mention that the July demonstration was fired at by the counterrevolution while the bolshevik newspapers were wrecked. The facts prove that there are no grounds whatever to accuse the provisional government of "weakness" in regard to the Bolsheviks.

At that time the political situation in the country was the following: either full victory of the military counterrevolutionary dictatorship or armed uprising by workers and the poorest peasantry against the bourgeois government and for the establishment of proletarian dictatorship. A peaceful transition of power to the soviets became impossible. Now the revolutionary proletariat could seize power only by force. On this basis, following Lenin's suggestion, the bolsheviks temporarily dropped the "All Power to the Soviets!" slogan. However, this did not mean that the Bolshevik Party was against the soviets in general, or that it had abandoned the struggle for a Soviet republic as a state of a new type. The party had not changed its view on the soviets as the best form of proletarian dictatorship under the specific circumstances. It did not intend to withdraw from the soviets but continued to struggle for limiting the Eser-menshevik influence on them and for the restoration and strengthening of their revolutionary content. "The soviets," Lenin wrote, "can and must prove themselves in this new revolution. However, this does not apply to the present soviets, not to the organs of conciliation with the bourgeoisie, but to the organs of the revolutionary struggle against it. The fact that at that time as well we will favor the building of the entire state on the soviet type is a fact. It is not a question of soviets in general but of a struggle against a specific counter-revolution and against the treason of specific soviets" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Volume 34, pages 16-17).

V. I. Lenin called upon the bolsheviks to act with restraint and firmly, skillfully using various means of work among the masses, and combining peaceful with violent forms of struggle. Lenin's conclusions were the basis of the decisions adopted by the Sixth RSDWP (b) Congress.

The sixth party congress approved Lenin's tactical concept of temporarily dropping the "All Power to the Soviets!" slogan. The congress decisions emphasized that "a peaceful development and painless transition of power to the soviets have become impossible, for the power has already been factually assumed by the counterrevolutionary bourgeoisie."

At that time V. I. Lenin criticized the position held by party members who dogmatically assessed the existing circumstances and opposed the dropping of the "All Power to the Soviets!" slogan, failing to understand that after the July events the twin power had come to an end and that a bourgeois dictatorship had been established in the country. To support this slogan as a slogan of the period of the peaceful development of the revolution would have meant to promote the illusion that a working class could seize the power without an armed uprising. The party equally rejected the left-wing opportunist motion made by Bukharin at the sixth party congress of abandoning the

old soviets and organizing new ones. The congress called for defending all mass organizations, the soviets of worker, soldier, and peasant deputies above all, from counterrevolutionary attempts and to protect and strengthen the positions gained within the soviets with all possible strength. The congress formulated the party's course to an armed uprising aimed at overthrowing the bourgeois system.

The party protected the soviets from the intrigues of the counterrevolution, rallying around itself the revolutionary elements. Even though the overwhelming majority of the soviets remained under Eser and menshevik influence, the bolsheviks and the revolutionary creativity of workers and soldiers saved these organizations. Ever-new detachments of working people switched to the bolshevik side.

The July events and Kornilov's counterrevolutionary conspiracy which followed them gave the masses an even clearer political awareness. Headed by the bolsheviks, the workers and soldiers were the first to oppose the Kornilov mutiny. In a few days the masses swept off the open reactionary offensive. In the course of its suppression the soviets became the main centers for the mobilization of democratic forces. "...the 'fresh wind' of the Kornilov movement, which promised the advent of a good storm," V. I. Lenin wrote, "was sufficient for everything concealed within the soviets to disappear and the initiatives of the revolutionary masses began to appear as something great, powerful, insurmountable" (ibid, page 204). The soviets gained new life, energy, and ability to organize the masses. These were already renovated soviets, tempered by the experience of the struggle.

On 31 August 1917, for the first time since its establishment, the Petrograd Soviet of Worker and Soldier Deputies passed a bolshevik revolution on the power, proclaiming that it would no longer trust the menshevik and Eser leadership, and that henceforth its political line would be the line of the Bolshevik Party. The central organ of the Bolshevik Party described this decision as a historical turning point (RABOCHIY PUT', 19 and 23 September 1917).

In its 5 September resolution the Moscow Soviet of Worker and Soldier Deputies condemned the conciliationist policy of mensheviks and Eser. Subsequently, it was mostly bolsheviks that became members of the executive committee and presidium of this soviet.

The bolshevik victory in the Petrograd and Moscow soviets was of historical significance. The process of soviet bolshevization in other parts of the country intensified. In a letter to the Central Committee and the Petrograd and Moscow bolshevik committees Lenin pointed out that "acquiring the majority in both capital soviets of worker and soldier deputies, the bolsheviks can and must seize the power of the government" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Volume 34, page 239).

The possibility for a peaceful development of the revolution appeared at that time. Considering it quite valuable, in his article "On Compromises" Lenin substantiated the possibility for reaching an agreement with the mensheviks and Esers who headed the Soviet Central Executive Committee. The essence was that the bolsheviks could support the creation of a government by the Central Executive Committee without the bourgeoisie on the basis of soviets responsible to the Central Executive Committee. However, rather than compromising with the bolsheviks, the Eser-menshevik leadership of the Central Executive Committee preferred to make a deal with the bourgeoisie aimed against the revolution.

In the course of the struggle against the Kornilov movement, our party in fact restored the temporarily abandoned slogan of "All Power to the Soviets!" The gaining of a majority in the soviets was its most important political task whose implementation would help to transform the soviets into organs of proletarian power. The bolsheviks demanded of the soviets not the official adoption of programs but active revolutionary efforts.

The elaboration of theoretical problems such as the attitude of the proletariat to the state in general and to the bourgeois state in particular, and the historical role of the soviets was of particular importance on the eve of the October Revolution. Lenin brilliantly resolved this complex problem as well. He wrote the program works "The State and Revolution," "Will the Bolsheviks Retain the State Power?," and others, thus arming the party with new theoretical conclusions. He brought to light with new emphasis the historical legitimacy of the socialist revolution and its inevitability in Russia. Lenin comprehensively disclosed the historical significance of the dictatorship of the proletariat, interpreting its nature and historically transient character, and linking them with the tasks of the transitional period and the strengthening of socialism.

In his work "Will the Bolsheviks Retain the State Power?" Lenin provided an all-round profoundly scientific assessment of the historical role of the soviets as a state form of dictatorship of the proletariat. The soviets are the apparatus which creates ties with the masses, with the majority of the people, ties which are so close and unbreakable, an apparatus easy to check and to renew, the likes of which did not exist at all in the previous state machinery. By virtue of the electivity and replaceability of its structure, by the will of the people, and without bureaucratic formalities, this apparatus is far more democratic than all previous machineries of power. It insures strong ties with the toiling masses of all professions, thus facilitating the implementation of most profound changes. The soviets represent a form of organization of the vanguard, i.e., of the most conscientious, energetic, and progressive segment of the workers and peasants. The soviets, Lenin pointed out, are the apparatus through which the vanguard of the oppressed classes could raise, educate, train, and lead the entire huge mass of such classes which were so far uninvolved in politics. Finally, this apparatus makes possible to blend the advantages of parliamentarianism with those of immediate and direct democracy, i.e., to combine within the elected representatives of the people legislative with executive functions.

The petty bourgeois parties tried to prove the need to retain the authorities of the provisional bourgeois government. Lenin exposed these views on the state as a rejection to extend the class struggle to a recognition of the dictatorship of the proletariat (see "Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Volume 39, page 261). He pointed out that the proletariat could not retain the political power with the help of the old governmental apparatus. "Shame on those who say that 'we do not have an apparatus with which to replace the old apparatus which inevitably tends to defend the bourgeoisie.' We do have such an apparatus: the soviets" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Volume 34, page 204).

The mensheviks and Esers claimed that the proletariat would be unable to create and bring into motion a governmental apparatus. Answering this, Lenin proclaimed the readiness of the Bolshevik Party to assume the management of the country. "After the 1905 revolution Russia was ruled by 130,000 land-owners," he emphasized. They ruled through infinite violence 150 million people, using infinite excesses, forcing the tremendous majority to perform slave labor and lead a semi-hungry existence.

"Russia could be ruled by 240,000 members of the Bolshevik Party in the interest of the poor and against the rich" (ibid, page 313).

V. I. Lenin indicated the "miraculous instrument" with which the state apparatus could be "increased tenfold." He considered as such a "miracle means" the possibility for continually involving the working people in the administration of the state. The working people acted as the creators of the new system precisely through the soviets.

On 1 September 126 local soviets demanded for the soviets to assume power. "Moscow and Odessa, Krasnoyarsk and Tsaritsyn, Samara and Khar'kov, Kronshadt and Helsingfors, the Caucasus and Urals--in a number of cities and areas the soviets are adopting the viewpoint of the revolutionary social democrats," wrote at that time RABOCHIY PUT' (8 September 1917).

The elections for Moscow Rayon dumas, held in September 1917, were an event not only of local but of national importance. About 52 percent of the voters voted for the bolshevik candidates. In his article "The Crisis is Ripe," written on 29 September, analyzing the results of these elections, Lenin wrote: "This vote for the Moscow Rayon dumas is, in general, one of the most striking symptoms of a most profound change of the national mood," indicating that "together with the left-wing Esers now we have the majority in the soviets, the army, and the country. There could be no shadow of a doubt about this" (ibid, pages 278-279).

With the bolshevization of the soviets their revolutionary activities broadened and intensified. They intervened evermore decisively in all fields of the country's political and economic life, shunting the authorities of the provisional government and, in many cases, abolishing them entirely. In some areas the rule of the soviets became evermore tangible and effective.

The pre-October Bolshevik Party conferences played a tremendous role in the struggle for the assumption of power by the soviets. As many as 80 such conferences were held in September and October. The local soviet congresses which took place on the eve of the October events played a major role in mobilizing the masses for preparations for the uprising. They indicated the readiness of the working people to struggle selflessly for Soviet power. Sixteen oblast soviet congresses were held in September and October, rallying over 500 guberniya and uyezd soviets of worker and soldier deputies. The first congress of Soviets of Central Siberia, the second congress of Soviets of Yekaterinburgskiy Okrug, and the conference of Soviets of the Western Oblast were held under bolshevik influence.

The congress of Soviets of the Northern Oblast opened in Smol'nyy on 11 October. The proceedings took place under the undivided guidance of the bolsheviks. The congress passed a bolshevik resolution which stated that "Only the immediate transition of all power into the hands of the organs of the revolution--the soviets of worker, soldier, and peasant deputies, centrally and locally, could rescue the people." The congress called upon all Russian soviets to engage in active revolutionary efforts. Over the head of the Eser-menshevik Soviet Central Executive Committee, the congress appealed to all soviets and soldier committees in the country. This appeal was of a mobilizing importance to the preparations for an armed uprising.

The transformation of the soviets into state authorities in the course of the revolutionary activities of the masses was a natural historical process. The demand of giving all power to the Soviets became universal. The bolsheviks intensified their leadership of the struggle of the working people and gained important positions in the soviets. The soviets became the battle organs of the struggle against bourgeois dictatorship.

The important political result of the development of the revolution in the autumn of 1917 was that the working people were disappointed in the policy of the provisional government, the bourgeois parties and the menshevik and Eser parties. The revolutionary masses were on the side of the bolsheviks. "...we firmly knew," Lenin noted, "on the basis of the experience of the mass elections to the soviets, that in September and the beginning of October the tremendous majority of workers and soldiers had already switched to our side. We knew...that among the peasantry as well the coalition had failed. Therefore, our cause had already won" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Volume 35, page 349).

The struggle of the bolsheviks for the soviets in the period of preparations for the October Revolution was of exceptional importance to the destinies of our country. The masses linked their hopes for salvation from the oppression of the bourgeoisie and the land-owners, for peace and land, and for rescuing the country from national catastrophe with the implementation of the bolshevik slogan "All Power to the Soviets!" The soviet became the main mass political organization of the working people with whose help the

Bolshevik Party extended its influence to the broadest strata of workers, peasants, and soldiers, leading them to the struggle for the victory of the socialist revolution and for proletarian dictatorship.

"The establishment and consolidation of the Soviet system as one of the forms of the dictatorship of the proletariat insured the type of freedom and democracy for the tremendous toiling majority unheard of and impossible in any capitalist country." That is how the historical significance of the transition of power to the soviets in October 1917 is assessed in the CPSU Central Committee decree on the 60th anniversary of the October Revolution.

Today the comprehensive activities of the soviets of deputies of the working people--the most representative organs of democracy--vividly embody the democratic nature of the all-national socialist state which is continuing, under new historical conditions, the great constructive mission of the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat. As the all-embracing direct organizations of the masses themselves, the soviets make possible the full implementation of the Leninist principle of involving all working people in the administration of the state. They collect the initiative, energy, experience, and knowledge of all popular strata. Workers and kolkhoz members account for almost 70 percent of the deputies of local soviets; 56.2 percent of soviet deputies at all levels are non-party members. Over two million deputies and about 30 million activists within the soviets are a convincing confirmation of the strengthening and expansion of the social foundations of the Soviet system under the conditions of a developed socialist society.

Looking at the historical experience of the creation and activities of the soviets, we can clearly see its international significance. Under the new historical conditions the international communist movement is developing and enriching the Leninist theory of the state form of power exercised by the working class and is improving the work done among the mass organizations of the working people. Despite the entire variety of means of transition to socialism today the experience of the Bolshevik Party in the struggle for soviet power is of enduring significance. It has drawn and will continue to draw the close attention of the fighters for the socialist reorganization of society.

In the previous decades the soviets passed an all-round historical test, proving their insurmountable force. Under mature socialist conditions all their activities have risen to a higher level consistent with the new conditions and increased tasks of our constructive work. The party always focuses its attention on further improvements in our political system and in the activities of the soviets. As was pointed out in the Central Committee Accountability Report to the 25th CPSU Congress the party is promoting the further steady and ever-broader participation of the working people in the administration of all social affairs, the development of the democratic foundations of our statehood, and the creation of conditions for the all-round blossoming of the individual.

## HISTORICAL EXPERIENCE IN THE STRUGGLE AGAINST TROTSKYISM

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[Review by V. Ivanov, doctor of historical sciences, professor, and G. Kopanев, candidate of historical sciences, docent, of the book "Istoricheskiy Opyt Bor'by KPSS Protiv Trotskizma" [Historical Experience in the Struggle of the CPSU Against Trotskyism]. Authors' collective: V. A. Grin'ko, F. B. Yesiyeva, V. L. Ignat'yev, V. V. Mezenov, N. A. Mit'kin, N. A. Slamikhin, Ye. F. Sopin, K. D. Shalagin, and S. S. Shaumyan. Editor in chief, K. I. Suvorov. Mysl', Moscow, 1975, 622 pages.]

[Text] The intensification of the offensive struggle against bourgeois and petty bourgeois ideology and the exposure of anti-Marxist concepts are among the important tasks set by the 25th CPSU Congress for Soviet social sciences. The monograph being reviewed is a contribution to the solution of this problem. It interprets the basic stages of the struggle waged by our party against Trotskyism -- the worst enemy of the communist movement -- from truly scientific, party positions. It depicts the role played by V. I. Lenin in the exposure of this most dangerous variety of opportunism, and analyzes the reasons which made the ideological and political failure of Trotsky and his supporters in the USSR and all fraternal parties inevitable. The evolution of Trotskyism itself is characterized in comprehensive fashion. Trotskyism entered the arena of political struggle under the banner of anti-Leninism and ended its infamous career as an anti-Soviet and counterrevolutionary current.

The monograph convincingly criticizes the statements of the bourgeois and revisionist falsifiers of CPSU history who distort specific circumstances and the general purpose of the struggle waged by Lenin, the Bolshevik Party, the working class, and all the working people of the USSR against Trotskyism, for anticommunist purposes.

One of the principal merits of the book is that it traces all the stages in the struggle against Trotskyism, from the Second RSDWP Congress to this day. The authors have not only summarized the valuable features already contained in works dealing with individual aspects of this subject, but by introducing new materials, have shed light on whole periods and some events in the struggle against Trotskyism. A number of archive documents,

including the very valuable statements by N. Krupskaya on the nature of Trotskyism and Trotsky's actions, have been put into scientific circulation for the first time (see pages 28, 92, 153, 154, 167, and others).

From the moment of its appearance, Trotskyism proved to be the irreconcilable enemy of creative Marxism, a current alien to the interests of the revolutionary working class. "No social democratic party in the world," Lenin pointed out, "was created, particularly in the epoch of bourgeois revolutions, without a difficult struggle and a number of splits with the bourgeois fellow travelers of the proletariat" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], Vol 21, p 214). Trotsky is described in the book as just such a fellow traveler, who spent his entire conscious life fighting Marxism-Leninism.

The authors note that the anti-Marxist nature of Trotskyism was detected as early as the Second RSDWP Congress. Trotsky found himself in the same camp as the opportunists in discussing problems of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the nature of the proletarian party being created in Russia. He belittled the role of the Marxist party as the battle vanguard of the working class, and allowed for the possibility of a workers' party in Russia only on the model of and similar to the reformist parties of the Second International.

After the Second RSDWP Congress, Trotsky, becoming an active Menshevik and together with the other Menshevik leaders, launched an all-out and unprincipled struggle against the Bolsheviks. In the course of this struggle the objective which he pursued to the very end of his life -- the destruction of the Leninist party -- was established once and for all.

The book shows the Menshevik and anti-Marxist nature of the notorious Trotskyite theory of the "permanent revolution," borrowed from Lassalle, Parvus, and other opportunists. Mistrustful of the ability of the working class to head and lead the people's masses in the democratic revolution, Trotsky tried to impose upon the workers' movement the adventuristic idea of "skipping" the stage of democratic coup d'etat. According to the theory of the "permanent revolution," the Russian working class should establish its own "power," alone, without the support of the peasantry, in the stage of democratic revolution, and inevitably clashing with the peasant majority of the population, launch a worldwide proletarian revolution in other countries through military intervention. This "theory" ignored the real ratio of class forces in Russia and in the world arena. It doomed the Russian working class to isolation and defeat.

Proving how groundless this unrealistic Trotskyite plan was, Lenin explained that the proletariat is interested not in "skipping" the stage of democratic revolution, but conversely, in making maximal use of its full victory. A democracy created by such a revolution would strengthen the positions of the working class, rather than those of its enemies, as Trotsky claimed it would. In terms of its class content, such a democracy

could only be conceived of in Russia as the revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the working class and the peasantry, which would strengthen the hegemony of the proletariat in the democratic revolution and create the most favorable conditions for its development into a socialist revolution.

The Trotskyite theory of "permanent revolution," the authors state, was based on the petty Menshevik concept of the impossibility and non-necessity of the hegemony of the working class in a democratic revolution. In the final account, this theory justified the policy of agreements with the bourgeoisie, a policy which the Mensheviks tried to impose upon the workers' movement.

After the 1905-1907 Revolution, Trotskyism continued to function as a variety of Menshevism most hostile toward Leninism. Distorting this unquestionable historical fact, the modern Trotskyite propagandists are doing everything possible to belittle the depth of the chasm separating the Leninist party from Trotsky. They claim that these differences were of an individual nature, and that when it came to the main aspects, Trotsky was, allegedly, close to Lenin, the Bolshevik Party, and the Russian labor movement.

The numerous facts cited in the book prove that in that period as well, the Bolshevik Party, headed by Lenin, was engaged in an irreconcilable struggle against Trotskyism. The party exposed Trotsky's maneuvers with a view to achieving a rapprochement with the international opportunist leaders and using their support in the struggle against the Leninists. Trotsky merged totally with the international centrists, whose representatives verbally proclaimed their loyalty to Marxism, while in fact doing everything possible to aid the obvious opportunists.

The nature of Trotskyite centrism was manifested with particular clarity in Trotsky's attitude toward the gravest crisis within the RSDWP created by the divisive activities of the liquidationists and the Otzovists. Proclaiming himself a "non-faction" social democrat, Trotsky attempted, under the guise of the struggle for party "unity," to prevent the defeat of those trying to destroy its true unity. He devoted desperate efforts to the establishment of a bloc of opponents of Leninism, thus endangering the Bolshevik Party. The authors cite his boastful statement to fellow supporters on the plans for the struggle against the Bolsheviks: "The fight will be great, and Lenin will die in it" (page 91).

Trotsky's antiparty activities were characterized by an exceptional lack of principle. "This Trotsky is a rogue, if you will pardon the expression," wrote Krupskaya (page 92). Lenin characterized Trotsky as a "Judas," a "scoundrel," "rascal," "villain," and "windbag." The unprincipled activities of the Trotskyites were countered by the Leninist party with its ideological firmness in the defense of the basic interests of the working class. Lenin called upon the Bolsheviks to struggle mercilessly against any attempt toward "unification" with the promoters of bourgeois influence

within the proletariat. The Sixth (Prague) All-Russian RSDWP Conference held in January 1912 strengthened the party by expelling the liquidationists, conciliationists, and other opportunists. The August antiparty bloc created by the opportunists expelled from the party and headed by Trotsky suffered a crushing defeat.

The profound analysis of the content of the struggle waged by the Bolshevik Party against Trotskyism during World War I provided by the authors is of particular importance to an understanding of the nature of the main differences between Leninism and Trotskyism. Trotsky, followed by all the Trotskyite propagandists, claimed that at that time a new Leninism was born, encompassing the Trotskyite theory of the "permanent revolution." The fabrication concerning the multiplicity of "Leninisms" and the possibility of reinforcing the revolutionary theory of the proletariat with antiscientific bourgeois and petty bourgeois concepts is being extensively disseminated under present-day conditions by the frank anticommunists and revisionists. In reality, as the authors prove convincingly, it was not the "reinforcement" of Leninism by Trotskyism which took place during the war, but an intensive creative development in Marxist-Leninist theory, inseparable from the most acute and principled struggle waged by Lenin against all varieties of opportunism, including Trotskyism. The authors emphasize that "the Trotskyite platform was the opposite of the Bolshevik platform on all the basic problems of war, peace, and revolution" (page 152).

Raising the slogans of converting imperialist into civil war and defeating the domestic governments, the Bolshevik Party set an example of true internationalist revolutionary tactics, designed to benefit from the military crisis in the interests of the triumph of the revolution. The Trotskyites, having proclaimed themselves to be internationalists, for demagogic purposes, were in fact giving every possible aid to the traitors to the revolution -- the social chauvinists, repeating the sterile Kautskian views on the allegedly promising nature of the revolutionary struggle under wartime conditions, and the possibility of putting an end to the war without overthrowing the imperialist governments.

The authors emphasize that Trotsky rejected the Leninist theory of imperialism and repeated the views of Kautskiy in his theory of "ultra-imperialism," which concealed the capitalist contradictions.

The study of these contradictions, which were intensified particularly in the epoch of imperialism, enabled Lenin to derive the conclusion as to the increasing unevenness in the economic and political development of the capitalist countries, and to substantiate scientifically the possibility of the initial victory of socialism in a few countries, or even in a single one. Trotsky opposed this brilliant Leninist discovery. He saw nothing in imperialism but a striving for centralism, toward the unification of the economy on a worldwide scale. This meant that the working class in each country should abandon the seizure of power and focus its efforts on the

struggle for power "in the form of a political dictatorship in all civilized countries in the capitalist world" (page 188). Refuting these claims voiced by Trotsky and other opportunists, Lenin pointed out that: "To wait for the toiling masses to wage revolution on an international scale is to freeze everything in a state of expectation" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 36, p 335).

The principle-minded and murderous struggle, as Lenin put it, against all varieties of opportunism which the Bolsheviks waged was one of the most important prerequisites for the victory of the 1917 proletarian revolution. "In Russia," Lenin wrote, "the Bolsheviks had the particular good luck to have 15 years at their disposal in which to wage to the end a systematic struggle against both the Mensheviks (i.e., the opportunists and the centrists) and the leftists, long before the launching of the immediate mass struggle for a dictatorship of the proletariat" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 41, p 94).

The defeat in this struggle forced many opportunists to change their protective coloring hastily, and to make active use of political mimicry.

As before, Trotsky concocted plans for the liquidation of the Bolshevik Party and the creation of an opportunist centrist party with a conciliatory attitude toward the traitors of the revolution -- the defencist Mensheviks. Trotsky tried to use Kamenev, Zinov'yev, Rykov, Bukharin, and other opportunists as his agents within the Bolshevik ranks. In May 1917, Trotsky falsely declared that "The Bolsheviks are un-Bolshevizing themselves." Becoming a member of the "interrayon" social democratic organization, he opposed its merger with the Bolshevik Party, criticizing those of its members who joined the RSDWP(b) (see pages 209-212). Defeated in his attempts to create his own "Trotskyite" party, Trotsky changed his tactics. As a member of the "interrayon" organization, he was accepted as a member of the Bolshevik Party at the Sixth RSDWP(b) Congress. However, only one thing in Trotsky's anti-Leninist position changed: from a defender of the Mensheviks, he became an inconsistent critic of them. The explanation for this was that the Menshevik Party had become entirely discredited with the masses. Trotsky was one of the first to hasten to abandon the sinking Menshevik ship.

As the authors convincingly prove, Trotsky was not sincere when he joined the Bolshevik Party. By virtue of his views, he remained an irreconcilable enemy of Leninism. Trotsky and his closest supporters "joined the Bolshevik Party so that they could continue the struggle against Leninism within its ranks, impose their opportunistic line upon it, and seize the party's leadership" (page 215). This was confirmed by the whole of their subsequent behavior.

The Sixth RSDWP(b) Congress already dealt a crushing rebuff to Bukharin, Preobrazhenskiy, and other open and concealed supporters of Trotsky who opposed the course of the socialist revolution in Russia and rejected the

possibility of its triumph prior to a proletarian revolution in the West. The congress resolution stated prophetically that "...the new and inevitable upsurge of the Russian revolution will give power to the workers and the poorest peasants before any coup d'etat in the Western capitalist countries" ("KPSS v Rezolyutsiyakh i Resheniyakh S"yezdov, Konferentsiy i Plenumov TsK" [The CPSU Resolutions and Decisions of Congresses and Conferences and Central Committee Plenums], Vol 1, Moscow, 1970, p 485). This conclusion was also directed against the Trotskyite theory of the "permanent revolution."

The struggle waged by the Bolshevik Party against the line which Trotsky tried to impose upon it became particularly acute in the period of the preparations for and on the eve of the October Armed Uprising. Trotsky favored cooperation with the leaders of the conciliationist parties in the Petrograd Soviet. He opposed the military-technical preparations for the uprising, and favored its postponement until the opening of the Second Congress of Soviets, in order to decide on the problem of system by a "parliamentary" method -- by a vote at the Congress of Soviets. Bearing in mind the position maintained by Trotsky and his supporters, Lenin wrote: "To 'wait' for the Congress of Soviets would be total idiocy...It would mean the cowardly abandonment of the seizure of power..." ("Poln. Sobr. Soch...", Vol 34, p 281).

After the victory of the October Armed Uprising, Trotsky continued his struggle for the conversion of the Russian revolution into a doubtful experiment designed to prove the correctness of the theory of "permanent revolution." To this end, he did everything possible to oppose the implementation of the Leninist foreign policy of the young Soviet state. The authors note the "scornful Trotskyite attitude toward the fate of the October Revolution" (page 250).

In the period of intensive struggle for the revolutionary withdrawal from the war, fiercely opposed by Trotsky and the other opportunists, Lenin revealed the baselessness of their defeatist views, proving that the victory of the proletariat over the universal bourgeoisie cannot be a simultaneous action, but must cover an entire historical epoch. Lenin defeated the Trotskyite attempts to belittle the international significance of the October Revolution. He profoundly substantiated the view that the defense and strengthening of the Soviet republic was the main international obligation of the Russian working class and its party. He subjected the Trotskyite concept of "exporting" revolution to crushing criticism.

The authors describe the way the party, under Lenin's guidance, wrecked the conspiracy against the revolution which Trotsky tried to organize. The party and the people supported Lenin's line of revolutionary withdrawal from the war. The Soviet state gained a breathing spell, a period of peace which it used to convert to the building of socialism.

In a period which was difficult for our homeland, following the end of the civil war and the beginning of the rebuilding of the national economy, Trotsky, with the help of his supporters, launched a fierce attack on the

party on the eve of the 10th RKP(b) Congress. The authors show that this attack was in fact a part of the new offensive against the Soviet system which the domestic and foreign counterrevolutionaries tried to organize.

The demand of lowering the leading role of the party brought together the Trotskyites and the other members of the opposition and the open counter-revolutionaries, including the Kronshtadt rebels, who took up arms against the Soviet system on the pretext of fighting the party leadership by the soviets. Trotsky's appeals for the "militarization" of labor, "tightening the screws" of war communism, and "shaking up" the trade unions conflicted with the party's policy aimed at the maximal involvement of the masses in the building of socialism and insuring the all-round development of socialist democracy.

As the authors prove, Lenin saw the roots of the Trotskyite platform in a failure to understand "the very foundations of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the very essence of the transition from capitalism to communism" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 42, p 204).

The authors describe the course of the debate on the trade unions, the results of which were summed up at the 10th RKP(b) Congress, in comprehensive fashion. In its decisions, the congress took into consideration the vital needs and requirements of the masses, and earmarked an economic policy which could insure the solid alliance of the proletariat and the toiling peasantry.

The congress expressed its approval of the further intensification of the party's leading role within the system of proletarian dictatorship. In its historical resolution entitled "On Party Unity," it condemned the appearance of factionalism and deemed the existence of factions and groups inadmissible.

Profiting from Lenin's illness, Trotsky and his supporters launched a general offensive against the party and its policy in the autumn of 1923. They proclaimed themselves the defenders of intraparty democracy, for demagogic purposes. In fact, however, their proposals betrayed them as opponents of the Leninist understanding of the nature of democratic centralism -- the basic principle of party structure. As before, the Trotskyites favored a weakening of the party's leading role, the elimination of the strict party discipline mandatory for all, and they wanted freedom of factions and secessionist groups.

Exposing Trotskyism, the party proved its loyalty to the Leninist principle of democratic centralism. Measures for the further development of intraparty democracy were earmarked and implemented. Meanwhile, the RKP(b) Central Committee pointed out that the Leninist understanding of intraparty democracy "in no way presumes freedom for factional groups which are extremely dangerous to the ruling party" ("KPSS v Rezolyutsiyakh...", Vol 2, Moscow, 1970, p 502).

In the course of the partywide debate, the tremendous majority of the party members condemned the Trotskyite demagoguery. The economic platform of Trotskyism was rejected as well.

The factory-plant party cells were the party's support in the struggle against Trotskyism. Lenin's appeal to the RKP(b), launched following the end of the debates, resulted in an even greater strengthening of the proletarian nucleus within the party. The materials in the book describing the course of the struggle against Trotskyite opposition in the few party organizations where it was initially able to achieve certain successes, are of great interest. Everywhere, on the basis of the development of intra-party democracy, the party members firmly condemned the Trotskyites and removed them from the leadership of their organizations.

In this case, the party devoted great attention to problems of ideological and theoretical work. Lenin's theoretical and political heritage was systematized, and its results were reflected in particular in J. V. Stalin's lectures entitled "On the Foundations of Leninism." The ideological-political struggle against Trotskyism was accompanied by corresponding propaganda support. It was thus that a crushing rebuff was prepared and was dealt to Trotsky by the party at the end of 1924, in answer to his attempt to revise Leninism and falsify the history of the October Revolution in his slanderous article "The Lessons of October." Trotsky's slander of Lenin and his wish to present himself as the "leader" of the October Revolution triggered the particular anger of the party members.

As a result of the ideological defeat of Trotskyism, the Party defended the basic Leninist concept of the possibility of building socialism in our country. Under the conditions of the temporary postwar stabilization of capitalism, this Leninist concept equipped the party and the Soviet people with a clear view of the building of socialism. The 14th Conference of the RKP(b), held in April 1925, approved Lenin's concept of the victory of socialism in the USSR as a manual for action and as a party law mandatory for all party members.

On the basis of Lenin's plan for the building of socialism, the 14th VKP(b) Congress proclaimed a course of socialist industrialization and of building the material and technical foundations for socialism, in December 1925. The congress rejected the petty capitulationist ideas of the Trotskyites and other opportunists, who were in favor of perpetuating the technical and economic backwardness of the country.

The struggle waged by the party against Trotsky's secret supporters -- Zinov'yev and Kamenev -- who proclaimed the existence of a "new opposition" on the eve of the 14th VKP(b) Congress, is described extensively in the book.

A comprehensive description of the efforts to defeat the unprincipled Trotsky and Zinov'yev opposition bloc which appeared after the 14th congress is given. In the struggle against this bloc, the party defended the Leninist

theory of the unity between the international and national tasks of the proletariat, and the fact that the Soviet republic is exerting its main influence on the international revolutionary movement by its successes in the building of socialism.

The main conclusion drawn by the authors is that all open and secret efforts by the opportunists to lead the party away from the Leninist path and to revise the basic Leninist concepts failed totally. This precisely predetermined the final failure of Trotskyism, the anti-Leninist nature of which became ever more obvious not only to the members of the party, but also to the broad nonparty masses.

The bourgeois propagandists are doing everything possible to distort the basic reasons for the defeat of the Trotskyite opposition within the VKP(b). The anti-Soviets claim that the party has "used nondemocratic methods in dealing with people with different views." In reality, as the authors show, the opposition was defeated because it definitively exposed itself as an antinational force, acting against the Leninist policy of building socialism in the USSR which was supported by the people. The members of the opposition were condemned by the entire party in the course of open debate, and as a result of the all-round discussion of the theoretical and political problems posed by the opposition. The question of the antiparty activities of the Trotskyites and their anti-Leninist theoretical and political concepts was repeatedly discussed in strict accordance with the party bylaws at congresses and conferences of the VKP(b), at its central committee plenums, and at politburo sessions. The local party organizations and the broad party aktiv and the rank and file party members made a most important contribution to the defeat of Trotskyism. Noted party leaders participated actively in the struggle against Trotskyism and in the defense and dissemination of Leninism. These included A. A. Andreyev, K. Ye. Voroshilov, F. E. Dzerzhinskiy, A. A. Zhdanov, M. I. Kalinin, S. M. Kirov, S. V. Kosior, V. V. Kuybyshev, A. I. Mikoyan, V. M. Molotov, G. K. Ordzhonikidze, G. I. Petrovskiy, P. P. Postyshev, Ya. E. Rudzutak, N. A. Skrypnik, M. V. Frunze, V. Ya. Chubar', N. M. Shvernik, Yem. Yaroslavskiy, and others. The condemnation of Trotskyism, the authors emphasize, was a manifestation of the collective will of the party, the working class, the Soviet people, and the entire international communist and worker movement.

The authors give a thorough description of the nature of the divisive activities of the opposition, which tried to create an illegal Trotskyite party in the USSR. Numerous facts are cited, confirming the clearly anti-Soviet activities of the Trotskyites and their readiness to unleash a civil war against the Soviet system. Taking into consideration the numerous demands voiced by communists and nonparty workers that the corrupting activities of the opposition be brought to an end, following a comprehensive discussion, the 15th VKP(b) Congress expelled its leaders from the party in December 1927. The authors emphasize that the struggle against Trotskyism within the party ended with the full victory of Bolshevik party-mindedness (see page 537).

Expelled from the USSR at the beginning of 1929, Trotsky embarked upon energetic anti-Soviet activities abroad. The Trotskyites maliciously slandered our country and urged the international imperialists toward a further intervention against the Soviet state. In his secret directives, Trotsky called for a blow struck at the leadership of the VKP(b). He tried to create his own "fifth column" in the USSR, ready to provoke a civil war if the imperialists attacked.

The entire international communist movement, the ranks of which he tried in vain to divide, participated actively in the struggle against Trotskyism. The authors quote numerous statements by A. Gramsci, G. Dimitrov, D. Ibarruri, V. Kolarov, L. Longo, E. Thaelman, P. Togliatti, C. Zetkin, and other heads of fraternal parties, as well as statements by the central committees of the communist parties of France, the United States, and Czechoslovakia angrily condemning and exposing Trotskyism for its complicity with world reaction.

In our day, using the historical lessons of the struggle against Trotskyism, the communist and worker parties are firmly exposing Trotsky's followers.

The authors convincingly prove that the fact that Trotskyism exists in the capitalist countries almost half a century after its complete defeat within the ranks of the VKP(b) is one of the manifestations of the deepening crisis in bourgeois ideology, the defenders of which are using even such compromised concepts.

Trotskyism has long since completed its ideological integration with capitalism. Today the active promoters of Trotskyism are open supporters of the bourgeoisie. As before, Trotsky's contemporary followers represent themselves as superrevolutionaries. With the help of pseudorevolutionary phraseology, they parasitize on the successes of creative Marxism, trying to discredit it and to weaken the unity in the ranks of the sincere opponents of capitalism. It is because of such divisive and provocative actions that the imperialist bourgeoisie supports Trotskyite pseudorevolutionarism, considering it as its agent within the revolutionary movement in a number of countries.

The small Trotskyite groups and their "international" associations supported by the bourgeoisie enjoy no serious support whatsoever from the toiling masses. However, the danger of Trotskyism remains, since a social base for the appearance and dissemination of various types of petty bourgeois pseudo-socialist, including leftist, ideas exists in all capitalist and many developing countries. For this reason, as before, the exposure of Trotskyism remains a topical task.

The Marxist-Leninist parties expose the nature of Trotskyism, which is hostile to the revolutionary movement. They expose it as the servant of the bourgeoisie, along with its malicious attacks on existing socialism and the international communist movement. The Leninist theory of imperialism and

socialist revolution, the experience of the building of socialism in the USSR, and the Leninist principles of peaceful coexistence, which Trotsky fiercely attacked, remain the center of a most acute ideological and political struggle waged by the Marxist-Leninist parties against contemporary Trotskyism.

The communists expose the provocative nature of Trotskyite appeals for reliance on nuclear war as a means of urging on a world revolution. They show the danger of the Trotskyite scorn for the democratic tasks of the proletarian struggle, and expose the desire of the Trotskyites to embellish capitalism and depict it as having entered a third, noncapitalist stage, allegedly characterized by a softening of the most acute imperialist contradictions. The Marxist-Leninists rebuff the Trotskyite attacks on the theory of the leading revolutionary role of the working class and its Marxist-Leninist party. They protect the Leninist understanding of the nature of socialist democracy and proletarian internationalism against Trotskyite distortions.

The course of the revolutionary struggle will inevitably bring about the full discreditation of the few Trotskyite groups in the eyes of the broad popular masses. The historical experience of the struggle against Trotskyism acquired by the CPSU clearly confirms the doom of all opportunistic parties and currents opposing the scientific ideology of the working class -- Marxism-Leninism. The unquestionable nature of this conclusion is convincingly proved in the book.

This book, dealing with an important and complex topic, suffers from certain shortcomings. For example, the struggle waged by the party against the Trotskyite economic platform has only been characterized in its general lines. The criticism by the Leninist party of the Trotskyite concepts of the development of the international communist and worker movements is discussed in fragmentary fashion.

As a whole, however, the book deserves a high rating. The long struggle waged by our party against Trotskyism is a model of political firmness, principle-mindedness, and ideological intolerance of all detachments and generations of fighters for the triumph of the cause of socialism and communism. The authors have been able to prove this convincingly.

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## FOR THE SAKE OF MUTUAL BLOSSOMING

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 4, Mar 77 pp 78-83

[Article by Fidel Castro Ruiz, first secretary, Communist Party of Cuba Central Committee, chairman, State Council and Council of Ministers of the Republic of Cuba; speech delivered at the opening of the 79th session of the CEMA Executive Committee, held in Havana, in January 1977. Slightly abridged]

[Text] We are living in a world in which integration has become the only possible alternative for any nation trying to develop in the field of material culture and science and assume a worthy place in the future. The scale on which the contemporary scientific and technical revolution formulates problems of economic cooperation and specialization, the tremendous technical requirements of today, and the huge capital investments needed in finding a rational solution to the problem of the utilization of production resources are in open and absolute conflict with the scales of the political maps charted for centuries by the class societies, capitalism in particular. However, this contradiction becomes even sharper when we address ourselves to the levels of economic and cultural development and the endless depth of contradictions existing between a handful of bourgeois industrial countries and tens of underdeveloped states.

The obsolescence of the capitalist system has never before been revealed so strongly. A society which was able to develop tremendous production forces is today, nevertheless, a sad picture caused by the under-utilization of its industrial capacities, uncontrolled crisis, infinite inflation, unemployment, hunger, arms race, criminal waste of nonrecoverable resources, energy and raw material problems, and inability to preserve and protect the human environment. Had Karl Marx been alive, or had he been able to open his eyes for a second and look at this reality, he himself would have been amazed at how brilliant his scientific predictions were.

We note against this background a trend toward integration shown by some developed capitalist countries as exemplified by the European Economic Community. At the same time, in other parts of the world, other groups of countries such as, for example, those of Latin America, are originating various formulas for unification in a great variety of ways, ranging from

openly reactionary to those formulating tasks of a progressive nature and presuming the defense against the greed of multinational monopolies.

Nevertheless, reality shows that any attempt at integration under capitalist conditions cannot go beyond certain limited objectives. Any integration initiative protected by capitalism would always be politically and economically unstable. It would be incapable of surmounting all possible forms of inequality and discrimination in relations between strong and weak partners. Furthermore, as is particularly clearly manifested in the European Economic Community, and shown in the imperialist policy of the United States, such integration could serve only for perpetrating unequal trade with underdeveloped countries and forcing the latter, through protectionist customs duties, to deliver their agricultural commodities and raw materials to the "consumer society", bearing the burden of the waste and high living standard of a small group of industrially developed countries.

Actually, it is a question of the fact that there can be no integration without social justice, without the elimination of the exploitation of man by man, and without replacing national egotism with internationalism. This also proves that the future of mankind, which cannot be imagined without the closest possible economic and political unity and without the systematic closing of the inequality gap which still exists belongs, unquestionably, to socialism.

However, capitalism is leaving and will leave to the new social system the very difficult and complex reorganization project. This shows, best of all, the tasks which CEMA has had to implement ever since its foundation slightly over one quarter of a century ago.

CEMA's activities prove the international nature of socialism. The ideas of internationalism were formulated by Marx and Engels. Their viability was proved by Lenin's revolutionary practice. Thanks to his exceptional brilliance he was able to realize that the historical progress of socialism mandatorily presumes an ever-growing interrelationship and subsequent integration among various socialist countries within a comity which, expanding, will come ever closer to the kind of human society so frequently dreamed about in which the old borders will be eliminated along with antagonism among countries, and in which the various languages and cultures will no longer be, as they still are, a means for division but turn into a means for general unification and reciprocal blossoming.

Naturally, we are still far from this objective to which the communist society will lead us. CEMA, however, is already a step forward in this direction. The enemies of socialism and even some of its supporters resort to deeply rooted nationalist prejudices with a view to frightening the peoples with the fact that the higher level of development and material assistance given by some countries to others would inevitably develop within the socialist society relations based on the domination of some countries by others and even to exploitation, relations which are characteristic of the old empires and the contemporary structures of world capitalism. However, as CEMA has convincingly proved, the ideological nature of socialism makes

the existence of such phenomena impossible. The concept of satellite countries extensively used by our enemies, is, in reality, applicable only to relations between imperialism and the shameful systems at its service.

Cuba's entry into CEMA is proof of the growing universality of socialism. It is precisely when the American imperialists were most of all convinced that Latin America was their reliable home front in which they could pursue unhindered their predatory policy, that the victorious Cuban revolution took place which brought about the total liberation of this country in the Western Hemisphere from imperialist oppression. The history of our revolution soon proved that under contemporary conditions a recently liberated country could withstand and defeat the attempts of imperialism to restore in it its economic, political, and military domination only by implementing profound changes and decisively moving ahead toward socialism. The only privilege which our country might have had has been the privilege granted to it by history of becoming the first country in this part of the world to defeat capitalism and imperialism and undertake the building of socialism. This is the result not of a miracle but of the inflexible power of Marxist-Leninist ideology, of our revolutionary traditions and of the mass heroism of the people which, together with the outstanding international solidarity and support, led to the fact that the immortal banners of the Great October Socialist Revolution are victoriously flying over the first free territory on the American Continent.

The imperialists love to ascribe to socialism expansionist intentions. They claim that revolutionary ideas are not universal and that the nations by themselves cannot reach higher stages of social development in accordance with historical laws. It was precisely the Cuban people, the first to gain true freedom, that chose the path of socialism for its homeland. It was precisely the internationalist nature of our social system that converted Cuba into a natural link between the socialist comity in Europe and the peoples of our continent. No one should be accused of the fact that today the members of CEMA include a country in which Spanish is spoken, a country whose accomplishments, ideas, and relations with the socialist countries are an example to other countries which are familiar only with the hated relations of the domination of some countries over others, with oppression and humiliation imposed by American imperialism.

Quite recently CEMA celebrated its 28th anniversary. The economic results achieved within such a short period of time prove the irreversible victory of socialism over capitalism. We must always remember that the establishment of the soviet system, whose 60th anniversary will be celebrated soon, was considered by all the theoreticians of capitalism as the result of a brief utopia doomed to a rapid disappearance without a trace. The exploit of the Soviet people, headed by Lenin and his party, gave this alleged utopia the amazing strength of a splendid accomplishment. The Soviet state not only withstood all trials imposed upon it by aggression and blockade in the first years of its life, and a most difficult Great Patriotic War, in the course of which the Soviet people assumed the main burden of the struggle waged by all mankind against Nazism, but is showing today an inordinate upsurge in the economic, cultural, and scientific and technical areas. The Soviet Union

represents an impressive reality and a firm hope. With the establishment of CEMA the achievements of socialism were no longer the isolated exploit of a gigantic nation but became a matter of solidarity and cooperation among countries united by their ideological foundation and the socialist content of their economies.

In order to prove continuing and accelerated growth of the socialist comity within CEMA in the past quarter of a century it would be sufficient to note that at the time of its foundation its socialist members accounted for only 18 per cent of the world's industrial output; by 1974 their share had already reached 33 per cent. From 1950 to 1973 the industrial output of CEMA-member countries rose from 6 to 16 times. In 1950 the European Economic Community smelted 48.4 million tons of steel while the CEMA-member countries smelted 35.8 million tons. By 1973, however, the CEMA-member countries had outstripped the EEC in the production of nonferrous metallurgical goods. The CEMA-member countries produced 178 million tons compared with 150 million by the EEC. The production of steel in the Soviet Union exceeded that in the United States. Within the same period the production of electric power in the USSR increased over ten times. Similar qualitative leaps took place in petroleum extraction and even more so in the production of some equipment such as tractors. As a whole, the national income which determines the material prosperity of CEMA-members rose over 5.8 times within that period.

However, this is not the only proof that the superiority of socialism is no longer a theoretical concept but tangible reality. More than ever before today the economic victories of socialism are a contrast compared with the growing difficulties experienced by the capitalist states, whether individual countries such as the United States and Japan, or economic groups such as the European Economic Community. Countries which believed that they would be able to avoid the crisis of the system within a short time mocked Marxist doctrine as obsolete. Today they are being pursued by the ghost of a new huge depression similar to that of 1929. The ragged capitalist system is mired in inflation. It is suffering from unemployment whose economic consequences and social indignities afflict the interests of hundreds of millions of working people.

It is important to realize that the benefits and opportunities offered by the integration of the socialist countries are still being used insufficiently and that we must develop new methods and programs aimed at increasing the already existing results of coordinated planning, specialization, and beginning integration in some industrial sectors.

Cuba ascribes exceptional importance to such a study. We follow with great interest the elaboration of long-term target programs for cooperation aimed at resolving basic material production problems, particularly in the fields of power and fuel resources, industrial raw materials and equipment, modern technology for agricultural production, food industry, transportation, and other sectors, and the adoption and implementation of comprehensive plans for scientific and technical development.

At the same time, these programs enable us to improve the system of socialist division of labor. In this sense each new day brings us the confidence that socialism alone provides a just and effective international division of labor. We bear in mind also not the contrasts between the division of labor as it is today in our countries and the division of labor which the big capitalist states try to perpetuate in their relations with the developing countries, even though this problem should also be discussed.

We all realize that a great deal remains to be done for the division of labor among our countries to be consistent with the principles and norms formulated in our programs. We are confident, however, of following the right way--a path to the gradual equalization of the levels of economic development and industrial progress among CEMA-member countries.

The struggle for the establishment of a new international economic quarter has become the joint slogan of the countries which are trying to surmount backwardness and be free from the plunder whose victims they remain. We know that such an economic quarter would be impossible as long as an imperialist system with still strong positions remains. However, many of the changes which lead to a rapid disappearance of this system could be implemented as of today and are found in the common program of the developing countries.

The Paris conference and the threats voiced by Ford and Kissinger prove that the imperialists have not reconciled themselves to the loss of any one of their privileges, even though a most simple study would indicate that the adoption of certain reforms would be for them the only possible means which could delay the total crumbling of the system which they are adamantly trying to save with the help of violence faced with the intensifying struggle of the peoples.

The relations between CEMA and the developing countries clearly prove the profound difference between the policy pursued toward such countries by socialism and by the imperialist groups.

We know that until 1975 the CEMA-member countries had provided economic and technical assistance to nearly 70 countries of the so-called third world. With the help of CEMA these countries built over 2,000 industrial and other enterprises in their basic national economic sectors. At the present time over 1,000 projects are under construction. The CEMA-member countries have granted the developing countries long-term credits in excess of 11 billion rubles.

However, such operations do not conceal burdening requirements, demands for raw materials, or extraction of profits. No single CEMA member has enterprises abroad and nowhere in the world does it exploit workers. This is the tremendous distinction between CEMA cooperation and imperialist exploitation and "aid".

The Soviet Union and the other socialist countries of Europe and Asia appeared in the course of the struggle against economic backwardness and the

battles against aggressors. This explains why a certain time will be required before the socialist countries will be able to provide the developing countries resources in quantities necessary for surmounting the catastrophic consequences of centuries of capitalist and imperialist plunder.

However, a new type of relations already exists, based on cooperation of a socialist nature, aimed precisely at changing the old conditions and securing the economic foundations for the development and full economic independence of the countries.

Cuba is proud of being one of the most eloquent and vivid examples of the type of relations which could exist between a powerful socialist country and a new state which gained its independence and chose the path of building socialism. The relations between the Soviet Union and Cuba in the political and military fields, and in the fields of trade and technical cooperation which promote development represent an unsurpassable part of the history of relations between big and small countries. Now, when we have bilateral relations with the USSR and the other socialist states we have begun to experience also the results of multilateral cooperation within CEMA.

Unquestionably, our example influenced the Latin American countries who are displaying an ever growing interest in establishing relations with CEMA and concluding with it agreements of cooperation. This would represent an important contribution to the defense of such countries under the present circumstances of a general capitalist crisis and nonadvantageous trade imposed upon them by imperialism.

Four years ago, when we joined CEMA, we were in the triple position of a socialist country, an underdeveloped country, and a country which had entered history with its traditions and the revolutionary expectations of Latin America. At that time we claimed that we intended to become a binding link between the possibilities offered by socialism in Europe, in the process of its integration as a unified and durable system, and the requirements of Latin America which tried to avoid the conditions imposed upon its independence by the imperialist mother countries and the vices of the world capitalist market.

We are part of the socialist comity we have joined. We are also part of the community of Latin American nations which we will fully join one day. We are ready to take all possible steps for the successful development of cooperation and economic, cultural, and scientific and technical exchanges with the Latin American countries headed by independent progressive governments.

Such ideas are already being implemented. Our revolution has been definitively established. It has democratic organs of authority and relies on the united conscientious people, full of a deep internationalist spirit. We do not doubt the victorious future of our socialist comity rallied around the Soviet Union and united within CEMA.

We do not doubt that imperialist rule has no future on this continent and that sooner or later the peoples of Latin America will choose the path of total liberation and socialism. We view the future with optimism.

## UNITY BETWEEN THEORY AND PRACTICE

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 4, Mar 77 pp 84-91

[Review by M. Podklyuchnikov of the journal EINHEIT (Unity)--journal of the theory and practice of scientific socialism of the SED [Socialist Unity Party of Germany]]

[Text] The year 1976 was noteworthy to the SED and the entire GDR nation. It was a year of preparations for and holding of the 9th party congress.

The pregress period coincided with the 30th anniversary of the founding of the SED. Noting this anniversary, from the level reached and on the eve of a new stage in the development of the German worker-peasant state, the republic's communists and all working people proudly summed up the results of the successful building of a new life carried out under the party's leadership. In his article "On the True Way", carried by EINHEIT (No 4, 1976), Comrade Erich Honecker, central committee general secretary, wrote: "Under the leadership of the SED, in the past three decades our people successfully followed their path to the future, opened thanks to the victory of the Soviet Union over fascism. In the course of the single revolutionary process, and fierce confrontation with imperialist reaction and its accomplices, we were able to carry antifascist-democratic changes and lead the socialist revolution to victory. The life of the people in the country changed radically. Our socialist worker and peasant state grew on the solid foundations of closest possible relations with the Soviet Union and as an inseparable component of the comity of fraternal countries. Now we can set ourselves the objective of continuing to build a developed socialist society and thus create the basic prerequisites for a gradual transition to communism."

### Toward Developed Socialism and Communism

The materials related to the congress assumed a leading place in the theoretical organ of the SED Central Committee, based on the draft party program, the "Directives of the Ninth SED Congress on the Development of the GDR National Economy in 1976-1980", and the New SED Bylaws. Revealing the significance of these materials, the journal emphasizes in the article "Three Documents--A Single Purpose" (No 3, 1976) that in them the SED answers the question of the objective which will be pursued in the future as well by the communists

in the GDR in following their chosen path, its landmarks, and the tasks to be implemented by the party and the entire people. The earmarked path is clear and the objective is realistic, for the party is guided by the objective and practically proven common laws of the socialist revolution and the building of a new society.

Characteristic of the materials published in the journal is a broad approach and a deep analysis of forthcoming tasks. The big theoretical articles consider basic problems of the building of developed socialism. It is pointed out that the SED does not limit itself to the narrow national frameworks. It is aware of its high international responsibility and believes that anything it does for the building of a new socialist society in the GDR is done also for the further strengthening of the socialist comity and of the world's revolutionary movement as a whole.

The 9th SED congress called for continuing the building of a developed socialist society in the GDR, thus creating the basic prerequisites for a gradual transition to communism. "We proceed," emphasized the SED Central Committee Accountability Report, "from the fact that no firm demarcation line could exist between socialism and communism." The new party program describes the historical process of deep social changes. A planned development of all the advantages of socialism must be secured along with all aspects and realms of social life, production forces and production relations, social and political relations, science, public education, socialist ideology and culture, and the sum total of working and living conditions and of the country's defense.

EINHEIT directs the attention to the fact that the strategy in building a developed socialist society in the GDR is not restricted to the national concept of the SED. It fully coincides with the respective positions held by the CPSU and the other fraternal parties. Essentially, this is a joint single line followed by the communist and worker parties of the members of the socialist comity. Its elaboration is one of the most important achievements on the path to the further strengthening of world socialism. The congresses of the communist and worker parties of the fraternal countries which enriched the general theoretical treasury of Marxism-Leninism were held in 1975 and 1976. Dedicating special articles to these congresses and emphasizing the tremendous basic importance of unity in strategic matters, the journal proves that this does not exclude the need for further, most careful study and practical consideration of the differences of specific conditions which exist in the development of the individual countries.

Following its eighth congress the SED grew and matured considerably. Its active influence on all realms of social life increased substantially. Having strengthened politically, ideologically, and organizationally, and rich with new experience, it is linked with the people more closely than ever before. One of the vivid proofs of this was the unanimous approval by the Republic's working people of the ninth party congress decisions.

On the threshold of the new stage in the building of socialism in the GDR the SED adamantly emphasizes that the role of the Marxist-Leninist party legitimately grows as the leading and guiding force of the constructive process. This is related to the higher stage of social development and the increased volume and complexity of the tasks. Before the ninth SED congress the party's theoretical organ published a series of articles in which the question of the role of the Marxist-Leninist vanguard was elaborated profoundly and comprehensively. The articles dealt with the basic theoretical concepts related to party activities and summed up the party's work under the people's system.

The journal also shows the essence of the specific example of primary party organizations heading the labor collectives and engaged in extensive political and ideological and educational work. In particular, the party organization of the Fritz Heckert machine tools building combine in Karl-Marx-Stadt is cited as a positive example. Here the question of the leading role of the communists is always the focal point of attention. It is periodically discussed at party committee meetings. A "Program for Upgrading the Leading Role of the Party Organization and of Every Party Member" has been drafted. It contains a number of specific measures which help the party members to fulfill their high assignments in each shop and sector, so that the popular SED slogan "the party is wherever a party member is" may be implemented daily.

We, the communists, the journal writes, always demand of ourselves to be models not in the field of an abstract ideal but in real life with its variety of situations testing each one of us. This requires knowledge of the work, political farsightedness, and principle-mindedness.

#### The Main Objective Is the Good of the People

Within a historically short time the GDR created a modern and highly developed socialist national economy. The chairman communists note with full justification that under the people's system the advantages of socialism were manifested particularly clearly in the progress achieved by the country's economy. Within that time no single capitalist state was able to reach a growth rate matching that of the GDR economy. The republic consolidated its position as one of the ten leading industrial countries in the world.

The SED pays prime attention to the development of the national economy. Each five year plan brings new experience whose theoretical summation enables the party to manage economic processes more skillfully and effectively, with increasing results, in the interest of upgrading the people's prosperity. Thus, the requirements of the law of the planned and proportional development of the national economy are being taken into consideration more fully than in the past; conditions have been created insuring stable and dynamic growth rates on a long-term basis. The concept of the unity of economic and social party policy, consistent with the interests of the people, was formulated at the Eighth SED Congress. At the ninth congress this concept was concretized

further and was embodied in the national economic directives of the next five-year plan.

Successes in the realm of economics are a source of pride for the party and all working people in the GDR. A vast socioeconomic program was implemented on the basis of the systematic and dynamic development of the national economy. Using factual data, the article "The Main Task--High Accomplishments and Growing Prosperity" (No 4, 1976) traces the growth of the material and cultural standards of the working people in the past five years. The strengthened economic potential made possible to undertake the implementation of a vast sociopolitical program. Its nucleus is the further growth of construction whose purpose is to resolve the housing problem as a social problem by 1990. Between 1971 and 1975 this program was considerably over-fulfilled. Instead of 500,000, the population received 609,000 new or modernized apartments. Within that time wages, pensions, and the length of paid leave were increased.

Having rated highly the results of the accomplishment, the Ninth SED Congress set even higher targets. Their implementation should raise the country's economy not only to new quantitative but new qualitative levels. The article "Main Directions in the Further Improvement of Our Material and Technical Base in 1976-1980" (No 9, 1976) points out that the distinguishing feature of the current five year plan is the solution of the specific problems of entire national economic complexes. Important among these tasks are the development of the power and raw material base, machine building, electrical engineering and electronics, and the production of consumer goods. As before, the party will focus its attention on increasing agricultural output.

What is the path leading to a further growth of industrial and agricultural output and economic effectiveness? On the basis of the materials of the Ninth SED Congress, the journal provides a well argued answer: socialist intensification which makes possible the full use of the advantages of socialism. To an ever greater extent this determines the economic development of the GDR. Thus, in socialist industry higher labor productivity accounts for up to 90 per cent of the increase in output. The main factor influencing intensification is the acceleration of scientific and technical progress. EINHEIT repeatedly goes back to this topic. In the selection of articles under the overall heading of "Science and Technology" (No 10, 1976) this problem is considered in its various aspects. Above all, a study is made of the specific problems related to the organization of scientific research, its increased effectiveness and the returns benefiting the national economy, and accelerated practical utilization of results. Articles depict the tremendous significance of scientific and technical cooperation with the USSR and the other fraternal countries, thanks to which considerable successes have been achieved of late. Whereas in 1970 the institutes of the GDR Academy of Sciences studied together with the institutes of the USSR Academy of Sciences slightly over 100 topics, the number of topics in 1975 exceeded 260. Thanks to such cooperation the GDR scientists acquired the possibility for successful work in fields such as nuclear research, high

energy physics, outer space, and others. Cooperation with the scientific research institutions of the other fraternal countries is developing.

Improving planning and management is a major intensification reserve. The theoretical organ of the SED always keeps within its sight this topic. It has carried articles on problems such as upgrading the level of planning and management, responsibility of associations, combines, and enterprises for the elaboration and implementation of high plans involving the creative efforts of collectives, ways for increasing the competitiveness of goods on the world market, satisfaction of demand not only in terms of quantity but quality, and increasing productivity and effectiveness. It is pointed out that in connection with the implementation of such tasks stricter requirements face the management of enterprises and combines and the managers as representatives of the working class.

The journal pays great attention also to an intensification factor such as the socialist economic integration among CEMA-member countries. A number of articles were published on this subject, emphasizing that the SED considers the intensification of socialist economic integration a decisive prerequisite for the continual strengthening of cooperation among fraternal countries and for the stable economic and social development of the GDR. The implementation of the complex program earmarked by the CEMA-member countries opens qualitatively new possibilities for the intensification of all-round relations among member countries and for upgrading the economic power of the socialist comity.

The acquired experience, these articles note, proves that ever closer unity is an insurmountable prerequisite for the full utilization of the advantages of socialism with its inherent dynamism, in the interest of each individual country and the comity as a whole.

The GDR ascribes particular importance to cooperation with the Soviet Union which is becoming ever closer and more effective and which already covers practically all realms of social life. Its determining direction is the unification of the material and spiritual resources of the two countries in the solution of big long-term problems. Thanks to the Friendship, Cooperation, and Mutual Aid Treaty concluded between the USSR and the GDR on 7 October 1975, in Moscow, relations between the two countries were raised to a new higher level.

#### Ideological Problems Are in the Center of Attention

Ideological work was, and remains, the core of party activities, the Ninth SED Congress emphasized. The GDR communists are guided by the inflexible principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, and their own experience in creative revolutionary activities in building the new system and strengthening the socialist comity.

EINHEIT devotes a great deal of space to problems of ideological work. It vividly describes the party's successes in the education of the masses. The results of the accomplishments are the more impressive having been achieved

under difficult circumstances: the heavy spiritual heritage of Nazism had to be surmounted and the fierce propaganda attacks launched by FRG mass information media had to be constantly repelled. Suffice it to mention for example, that West German telecasts can be received throughout almost the entire territory of the GDR, not to speak of radio broadcasts. Of late the struggle waged by West German imperialism against the socialist republic has been conducted above all from the positions of nationalism and the false aspiration toward "national unity". Without the constant attention which the party pays to ideological problems and the adamant efforts to develop in the working people a socialist awareness, today's accomplishments of the German worker-peasant state would have been simply inconceivable. Belief in the correctness of the Marxist-Leninist outlook and in the party's policy based on it proceeds from the total consistency between theoretical knowledge and practical experience. The party's word expressed by thousands of party members who explain its policy and disseminate the ideas of Marxism-Leninism through the various mass propaganda media are heard and approved by the working people, for they are consistent with the realities of life. This precisely is the basis for the successes achieved by the SED.

Profound changes are occurring in the spiritual life of the working class and all GDR working people in the period of building a developed socialist society. The journal focuses its attention on the study of their nature and directions and on their theoretical and practical significance. How precisely are the occurring changes manifested? Above all the attitude of the individual toward society as a whole changes. Understanding of their responsibility to society has sunk deep roots in the minds of the people. This confirms the basic harmony among social, collective, and individual interests. This is confirmed by the initiative-minded and creative work of the working people and their active participation in the planning and management of the governmental, economic, and cultural areas manifested, among others, in the high upsurge of the socialist competition.

The socialist labor brigades are a convincing example of this. The article "Spiritual and Cultural Life in the Developed Socialist Society" (No 3, 1976) describes the movement operating under the slogan of "Let Us Work, Study, and Live in a Socialist Way", which has become considerably widespread in recent years. In 1970 some 2.4 million people participated in the struggle for the title "Socialist Labor Collective", while over 4 million people participated in this struggle in 1975.

As is characteristic of EINHEIT, a number of articles provide a profound analysis of topical problems which are the subjects of an energetic struggle against bourgeois ideology and opportunism. In particular, this applies to the problems of the further strengthening of the socialist state. The article "Our Socialist State--A Form of Proletarian Dictatorship" (No 4, 1976) states that the SED continues to be guided in problems of governmental systems by the basic experience of the CPSU which reflects the general laws of revolutionary development. At the same time, it always takes into consideration the specific conditions governing the building of socialism in the country. The new SED program notes that its policy "is aimed at the further all-round

strengthening of the socialist worker and peasant state as one of the forms of proletarian dictatorship of interest to the entire GDR people." The specific features of the republic include the existence of a democratic bloc of parties and mass organizations and the activities of the national front. The trust which permeates relations among cooperating parties expresses the strengthening moral and political unity of the entire people. The improvement of socialist democracy, the ninth congress materials point out, is the basic direction in the further development of the German worker and peasant state.

Proving the unquestionable advantages of socialist democracy, the SED theoretical organ firmly rebuffs the bourgeois concepts of freedom and democracy in a militant way, standing on firm principled positions. To the revolutionary working class and its party, the article "Democracy and Freedom in the Socialist Society" (No 9, 1976) emphasizes, these two concepts are not bare abstractions used by bourgeois politicians and ideologues who try to conceal their class nature from the people's masses. It is impossible to be both exploited and free. Freedom for a working people begins wherever exploitation ends, i.e., under socialism. In a socialist society freedom and democracy mean that everything is being done together with the people and for the people; the interests of the working class, the cooperative farmers, the intelligensia, and the other working people are met. The working people become involved to an ever greater extent in ruling and the regulation of all social affairs; they acquire the necessary education and become imbued with ideological convictions; they gain a broad spiritual outlook. The working people act as conscientious and active builders of the new society. The decisive prerequisite for all this is that the working class has political power and holds it firmly in its hands together with all other working people.

In EINHEIT the reader finds not only individual articles but thematic selections dealing with problems such as full freedom, democracy, and human rights under the socialist system, and the achievements of socialism in all fields of social life. Here is, for example, a selection under the overall title of "Values of Socialism" (No 5-6, 1976). The range of problems covered is fully reflected in the article headings. Let us mention some of them: "Freedom, Democracy, and Human Dignity Under Socialism"; "Socialism Guarantees Human Rights"; "The Achievements of Socialism Are Our Best Argument"; "Economic Growth--Its Prospects Under Socialism and Its Limited Critics"; "Science in the Process of Building a Developed Socialist Society"; "Collective and Individual". All these materials are imbued with a profound conviction of the superiority of socialism over capitalism and of the socialist over the capitalist way of life, as well as with optimism and confidence in the unlimited constructive possibilities of the new social system.

Cooperation among fraternal parties in the ideological confrontation with imperialism is expanding and strengthening with every passing year. EINHEIT mirrors this cooperation. The articles in the journal describe forms of cooperation such as regular meetings among secretaries of central committees of fraternal parties in charge of ideological and international problems, joint elaboration of key theoretical problems, close interaction among

mass information media, and others. Frequently various materials provided for the journal by authors from the fraternal socialist countries are published.

### Together For Peace and Security

Today the positions of the GDR in the world arena are stronger than ever. The GDR is an inseparable component of the socialist comity. Within the unbreakable alliance with the USSR and the other fraternal countries the German socialist state is waging a systematic struggle for detente and for the triumph of the principles of peaceful coexistence. The universal recognition of GDR sovereignty and the confirmation on an international scale of the inviolability of its western borders were outstanding results of the joint efforts of the socialist states. The GDR is operating as an equal member of the United Nations and other international organizations. It maintains diplomatic relations with 121 countries. The GDR participated in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe and made a constructive contribution to its work.

The EINHEIT materials emphasize that the GDR strengthened its international positions thanks to the joint struggle waged by the socialist countries rallied around the Soviet Union, the growing power and strength of socialism, the achievements of the working people and the republic, and the SED policy which contributes to strengthening the positions of socialism and to securing the peace. The unity of the members of the socialist comity and their joint actions on all basic international problems play an important role in the struggle for further detente and the elimination of the threat of war. Such activities are inspired by the common noble objectives expressed in the program for the further struggle for peace and international cooperation and for the freedom and independence of the peoples adopted at the 25th CPSU Congress, representing the organic extension and development of the peace program formulated at the 24th CPSU Congress.

The 25th Soviet party congress, notes the article "A Program of the Further Struggle for Peace and International Cooperation and for the Freedom and Independence of the Peoples" (No 10, 1976) gave the forces of peace throughout the world a constructive orientation. The foreign political program adopted is consistent with the basic positive changes which have taken place in international circumstances, achieved above all thanks to the system of the members of the socialist comity, and the struggle waged by the communist and worker movements, the national liberation movements, and the broad public forces. This program is aimed at focusing the efforts on insuring the peaceful future of the peoples and eliminating once and for all wars from the life of mankind. It reasserts the fact that Lenin's party is the most tried detachment of the international workers movement, honorably fulfilling not only a patriotic duty toward its own people but an international duty to the working class of all countries. It is fully consistent with the vital interests of mankind. This accounts for its mobilizing influence.

The SED theoretical organ not only records processes occurring in the world arena. It studies, sums up, and analyzes them comprehensively. For example, a number of articles thoroughly assess the significance of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. Its results, states the article "With the People and For the People" (No 1, 1976) reflect the political and territorial changes which occurred as a result of World War II in European post war developments. This represented a considerable step taken on the path to the solution of the strategic problem of gaining a durable peace over a long period of time. This is confirmed by the collectively coordinated principles which include the inviolability of borders, territorial integrity, sovereign equality, and respect for sovereignty rights, and nonintervention in domestic affairs. The confirmation of such principles is the most important result of the conference, backed by the signatures on the final act of the high representatives of 35 participating countries. Thus, in accordance with the objective of the coordinated foreign policy of the Warsaw Pact members it was possible to improve the external conditions for the building of socialism and communism, and make progress in preventing the threat of a new world war. This is consistent with the basic aspirations of the nations. However, EINHEIT notes, it must not be forgotten that the Helsinki document does not exclude the further confrontation between different social systems, for socialism remains socialism while capitalism remains capitalism. The class struggle is continuing. Its fronts are not eliminated, for it is impossible to combine conflicting social systems.

Today the members of the socialist comity are resolving jointly a most important foreign political problem: they are working for military detente to be added to political detente and make it irreversible. As was reasserted at the Bucharest conference of the Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Committee, they consider it necessary to put an end to the arms race and to achieve a disarmament. In its materials EINHEIT convincingly describes the importance of this radical task and exposes the attempts of the enemies of peace to wreck detente and resume the arms race. As we know, the North Atlantic Bloc is their instrument. On its basis, the article "NATO Against Security and Detente" notes (No 9, 1976) the open enemies of detente, rallied around the military-industrial complex, are trying to hinder the further successes of the peaceful policy pursued by the socialist states, annul the results of the Helsinki conference, and prevent any progress in talks on restricting armaments and on disarmament. The North Atlantic Bloc is not only the most important instrument of the reactionary imperialist forces for wrecking detente but also the main center of anticommunism and antisovietism, and an obstacle on the path to democratic changes in the capitalist countries. The dangerous influence of aggressive NATO circles could be restricted even further only through the joint struggle waged by the members of the socialist comity, the revolutionary workers movement in the capitalist countries, and all peace loving forces in the world.

Last summer the conference of communist and worker parties of Europe was held in Berlin. The fact that a meeting of such great international significance was held in the capital of the GDR proves the great prestige enjoyed by the SED in the world communist movement. The envoys of the communists on the

European continent discussed the basic problems of the struggle for peace, security, cooperation, and social progress, and adopted a joint document reflecting their unanimous will to struggle jointly for such objectives. Expressing the SED viewpoint, EINHEIT dedicated an article to this important event entitled "The Weighty Utterance of the European Communists" (No 9, 1976). The forum of European communists, the journal wrote, occupies a worthy position among the many other joint actions launched by the communists in recent years aimed at increasing their interaction in the international arena. It confirms the great power of the communist movement. The word of the European communists has tremendous weight. The 29 parties which participated in the Berlin Conference represented over 29 million fighters for the cause of the working people. The joint document passed at the conference will remain for a long time a program for the further struggle for peace, security, cooperation, and social progress. The journal emphasizes that strengthening the unity of the world communist movement, based on proletarian internationalism--the most important and tried principle of communist activities--plays a tremendous role in the reaching of such noble objectives.

The year of the Ninth SED Congress--1976--was a considerable landmark in EINHEIT activities, as it was in the activities of the entire party. In the period preceding the congress the journal was a rostrum for the extensive discussion of the party documents. After the congress, actively disseminating its decisions, the journal has been making its contribution to their implementation. It is playing a noteworthy role in the theoretical elaboration of topical problems and in summing up the experience acquired in building a new society in the GDR. The journal pays a great deal of attention to the study of the basic laws of the socialist revolution and the building of the new world, and to the study of the historical experience of world socialism which has confirmed the universal significance of these laws and the need for their creative application in accordance with the specific conditions and characteristics of the individual countries.

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## MILITANT JOURNAL OF THE BULGARIAN COMMUNISTS

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 4, Mar 77 pp 92-98

[Review by G. Cherneyko of the BCP Central Committee journal NOVO VREME]

[Text] NOVO VREME--the theoretical organ of the BCP central committee--is 80 years old. The journal is actively helping the BCP in its tremendous constructive work. It is a zealous propagandist of party policy and participates most actively in the solution of its immediate historical task--the building of developed socialism in Bulgaria and preparing for the gradual transition to communism.

The history of NOVO VREME clearly reflects the great path covered by the party of the Bulgarian communists, from its birth, struggle against the monarchy and fascist dictatorship, to the building of a developed socialist society. The journal actively contributed to the blending of scientific socialism with the Bulgarian labor movement. It was the flag bearer of the struggle waged by the Bulgarian Marxists against opportunism in the defense of the scientific ideology of the proletariat. The fact that its first and long-time editor was Dimitur Blagoev, the founder of the party and its theoretician and guide, particularly contributed to the success of NOVO VREME.

NOVO VREME played a considerable role in the creation and strengthening of the proletariat party with a strong centralized organization and broad internal democracy, iron discipline, and high moral qualities of its membership, a party which has systematically and firmly defended the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. The theoretical organ of the Bulgarian communists enthusiastically welcomed the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution, considering it an event of universal-historical significance. It actively defended the gains of the Russian working class. Relying on the Bolshevik experience, the journal emphasized that the study of Marxism-Leninism in itself was insufficient and that it was necessary to master the art of applying its principles in determining the strategy and tactics needed under the specific circumstances of the country. NOVO VREME published V. I. Lenin's works describing the sources and reasons for the victory of the socialist revolution in Russia and the way the Bolshevik party was prepared for it organizationally and theoretically, and the way it won the masses over and led them to victory.

Disseminating the great cause of the October Revolution, and helping the Bulgarian communists in mastering its universal-historical experience, the journal published a variety of materials many of which retain their scientific and political validity. They include, for example, articles on the need for a dictatorship of the working class for surmounting the opposition of the exploiters, and the assertion of the class rule of the proletariat for the sake of insuring freedom and the broadest possible democracy for the working people.

Under the people's system as well, continuing these great revolutionary traditions, NOVO VREME is the real tribune of the party's theoretical thought and is engaged in extensive work on the ideological armament of party members.

Under the party's guidance it is working for the all-round strengthening of the people's democratic system, rallying around the Fatherland Front all progressive forces of society, fighting currents hostile to the people's democracy, and working on problems related to the political, economic, and cultural development of Bulgaria, and its progress on the path to socialism. The journal tirelessly explains the ideas of the party and of Georgi Dimitrov on the content and prospects of the people's democratic state, and the significance of the experience of the Soviet Union to the successful building of socialism in Bulgaria. It studies profoundly the nature and forms of the class struggle in the country in the transitional period, and the place and significance of the people's councils, the Fatherland Front, the trade unions, the Komsomol, the Bulgarian National Agrarian Union, and other mass organizations of the working people in the socialist reorganization of social life.

The theoretical organ of the BCP central committee always keeps in sight the most significant problems of social development. Guided by the party's instructions on the ways to building the foundations for socialism in Bulgaria, NOVO VREME makes its contribution to the elaboration of problems of the country's industrialization and electrification, the socialist reorganization of the countryside, and the development of a culture national in form and socialist in content.

The journal deserves great credit for explaining and disseminating the decisions of the historical April 1956 BCP Central Committee Plenum. It provided great help to the Central Committee in the implementation of measures aimed at upgrading the party's leading role, strengthening its ties with the masses, preventing manifestations of subjectivism, and improving the style and methods of party and government work.

For many years the journal has focused its attention on the building of a developed socialist society. On the basis of the BCP program, elaborated under the guidance of Comrade Todor Zhivkov, adopted at the tenth party congress, NOVO VREME is engaged in an extensive **exchange of views** on the effect of the overall laws governing the building of developed socialism and their specific application under Bulgarian conditions. Promoting the idea

of the objective and legitimate nature of this process, the journal comprehensively interprets the stipulation in the BCP program to the effect that developed socialism is built and developed on its own grounds, i.e., on the foundations of the new material and technical base and the established socialist production relations, and a highly developed political and spiritual life. In the process of progress along this path the elements inherent in the communist phase are established and developed within the socialist society; the prerequisites for a gradual transition to the building of communism are established and developed. No insurmountable obstacle exists between the further development of socialism and the building of communism. This represents a single continuing process, and a natural transition from a lower to a higher phase of the communist society.

As the BCP emphasizes, the completion of the material and technical base of socialism, the development of high and stable pace of production forces, further economic intensification, and increased social labor productivity are of determining significance within the entire set of economic, sociopolitical, cultural, and ideological problems resolved in the new stage.

Concretizing the means for the solution of such problems, the journal pays a great deal of attention to problems of integration of science with production, and the intensification of production concentration and specialization. It depicts the work of state economic trusts as the basic economic unit in industry and of agroindustrial complexes as the most effective means for the conversion of agricultural production to an industrial base. It is purposefully elaborating problems of the introduction of comprehensive production mechanization and automation and the utilization of new industrial technology and new methods in all sectors. It emphasizes that particularly topical today is the struggle for upgrading the quality of output and of all work.

The analytical materials published by the journal frequently include articles on improving the territorial location of production forces--one of the important conditions for upgrading economic effectiveness and for the harmonious socioeconomic and cultural development of the individual areas. NOVO VREME also systematically discusses the problems of the country's further industrialization, and the faster growth of sectors determining contemporary technical progress.

The journal extensively deals with theoretical problems of development of production relations under socialism. On the basis of the party program the journal proves that the creation of the material and technical foundations for the new society is inseparably linked with the improvement of production relations. It emphasizes that a continuing development and enrichment of the two forms of ownership--the national (state) and cooperative--which, in the future, must blend within a single nationwide property--takes place in the course of building mature socialism. It also studies the question of personal responsibility under socialism, whose development largely determines the improvement of distribution relations and the further growth of the prosperity of the working people. The journal constantly turns to the

problem of upgrading the living standard of the people--the purpose and content of the entire BCP policy--emphasizing the need for a complex approach to the measures implemented by the party in this field. This also applies to the solution of the most important problem of drawing together the level of the material and social prosperity of the peasants and that of the workers and employees.

In the period of building developed socialism, the BCP program states, differences among social classes and groups cannot be fully surmounted. Such differences, however, (intra-class and inter-class) are reduced to such an extent that the socialist society comes closer to the threshold of social homogeneity. In accordance with these concepts the journal of the Bulgarian communists provides theoretical studies of the interests of all classes and social groups, of the prompt detection and solution of non-antagonistic contradictions arising among them, and the development within them of the awareness of the sociopolitical and ideological unity of society.

Studying changes in the social structure of society, NOVO VREME notes the leading role of the working class, proving that it is related to its affiliation with the most progressive forms of social organization of labor, and its decisive contribution to the development of industry, the creation of socialist statehood, and the enrichment of national culture. The journal theoretically substantiates the view that the social unity of society is built and strengthened on the basis of the historical objectives of the working class with its leading role and with the guiding activity of the communist party. The further growth of the party's vanguard activities at the stage of building developed socialism is of prime significance. Issue after issue the journal traces the process of continuing strengthening and upgrading of the leading role of the BCP in all social life and the growth of the party from the vanguard of the working class into the vanguard of the entire people. Closely linked with the theoretical elaboration of these problems is the specific consideration of the party's organizational and ideological-educational work both among party members as well as all working people, and the study, summation, and dissemination of the most effective forms of activity of party organizations.

Following the tenth BCP congress the new constitution of the Bulgarian People's Republic was discussed on a nationwide basis and adopted. It codified the socialist gains of the people and opened broad opportunities for the further development of socialist democracy. Improving management processes the party finds and applies new ways and means for broadening and energizing the participation of the working people in the solution of public problems. In this connection NOVO VREME always keeps in sight problems of social management and of improving the activities of the state apparatus, social and state control, increased role of the mass organizations such as the Fatherland Front, the trade unions, the Komsomol, the Committee of Bulgarian Women, and others. The role and place of the Bulgarian Agrarian National Union, the loyal supporter of the BCP not only in the transitional period but in the stage of building developed socialism, in social management and in the international arena is particularly singled out.

The journal ascribes great importance to problems of socialist culture, considering it as a social complex which includes the achievements of science, technology, and production. Formulating the tasks set by the party to art, literature, and public education, the journal emphasizes that their implementation is inseparably linked with social and scientific and technical progress, and with the molding of the all-round developed member of the socialist society.

Particularly singled out in the entire range of problems considered by the journal in connection with the 11th BCP Congress, is its most important result: the profoundly elaborated and concretized immediate historical task based on the party's program--the building of a developed socialist society in Bulgaria and preparations for the gradual transition to communism.

The successful solution of this problem is becoming tangible reality. The period through 1990 will be a period of new deep qualitative and quantitative changes in all realms of the country's material and spiritual life. They will bring about the building of the material and technical foundations for socialism, the further advancement of social relations, and the all-round development of the individual. The Bulgarian People's Republic will become a mature socialist country.

In order for this reorganization process, earmarked by the party, to develop on a planned and effective basis, within the shortest possible time, the party congress paid great attention to its central problems. Currently NOVO VREME concentrates its activities on the interpretation and theoretical elaboration of these problems.

The first among them is the creation of the material and technical foundations for socialism. In the past five years great progress was achieved in this direction. The country's economy showed stable high growth rates. Industrial sectors determining, above all, technical progress and higher production effectiveness developed most dynamically. Great successes were achieved in agriculture which is developing ever more confidently along the path of intensification and more extensive introduction of new equipment and technologies. This has created a solid foundation for the solution of the main socioeconomic problem of the seventh five year plan (1976-1980): the steadfast implementation of the party's line of fuller satisfaction of the material and spiritual needs of the people by securing the dynamic and proportional development of the national economy, and the rapid increase of labor productivity, effectiveness, and quality which will be achieved as a result of modernization, reconstruction, and production concentration, and accelerated utilization of scientific and technical achievements, and by upgrading the socialist conscientiousness of the working people and strengthening the socialist way of life. With a large number of articles and materials NOVO VREME presents a broad panoramic view of the struggle waged by the party for the implementation of its strategic line in the new five-year plan.

The journal describes extensively the content of yet another important problem: the further development of man, the main production force of society. This is based on the creation of conditions for the proper regulation of socio-class changes and for establishing and developing new types of relations among people--relations of comradeship and cooperation, collectivism, and mutual aid. Such relations are not only an important distinguishing characteristic of socialism but a powerful factor for its accelerated progress.

The solution of the problems formulated by the party, together with the development of socialist democracy, calls for the extensive development of criticism and self criticism. NOVO VREME develops in its articles this serious problem proving that the progress of the socialist society cannot be accomplished without the continuing exposure and elimination of shortcomings, and that the extent of development of criticism and self-criticism is one of the criteria of its maturity.

Economic integration with the other members of the socialist comity and, above all, with the Soviet Union is the most important factor of the accelerated intensive development of the Bulgarian national economy. In articles and various materials the journal convincingly depicts the significance to Bulgaria of big integration measures, production specialization and cooperation, creation of raw material capacities through joint efforts, and scientific and technical cooperation with the fraternal countries. The journal provides theoretical coverage of the development and intensification of socialist economic integration as a historical process for production internationalization which has the character of an objective law in the construction of developed socialism and transition to communism.

The BCP closely links to its educational activities the study of the process of development of all-round cooperation and rapprochement between Bulgaria and the Soviet Union and intensified cooperation and integration relations with the other socialist countries. Thus, the objective processes occurring in the life of the country and the socialist comity lead to the qualitative changes of patriotism and internationalism. As was pointed out at the 11th party congress today patriotism means not simply love for the homeland but love for the socialist homeland, i.e., a socialist patriotism which organically encompasses communist idea-mindedness and the internationalism stemming from it.

The content and forms of internationalism continue to be subjected to qualitative changes. Socialist internationalism--the expression of the common interests of the working class and the peoples of countries following the socialist path--appeared on the basis of proletarian internationalism.

In the stage of building a developed socialist society in Bulgaria, and, particularly, after the adoption of the new BCP program, substantial changes appeared and developed in the patriotic and internationalist awareness of the Bulgarian people. A process of gradual interpenetration and merger of socialist patriotism with socialist internationalism began. "This process,"

Comrade Todor Zhivkov says, "is manifested most vividly in terms of the Soviet Union--the historical nucleus around which the socialist comity is crystalizing. In the realm of Bulgarian-Soviet relations we can already clearly speak of a qualitatively new patriotic and internationalist awareness of the Bulgarian people, and of the appearance and assertion of a patriotism of a new type in which love for Bulgaria and love for the Soviet Union reciprocally complement and enrich each other blending, to an ever greater extent, within a single feeling, a single awareness."

The Bulgarian communists consider the building of developed socialism in their country the implementation of their superior international duty, and an indivisible structural part of the struggle waged by the international working class for socialism and communism. Steadily defending this principled party position, the theoretical organ of its central committee shows that the objectives of the BCP are to defend and increase the gains of world socialism, strengthen its unity, strengthen the combat cooperation among communists of all countries on the principles of proletarian internationalism, the development and intensification of the world revolutionary process, and the unification of all progressive forces in the struggle for national independence, peace, and socialism.

The journal publishes many articles on the development and intensification of the unity of action between the BCP and the CPSU, and the rapprochement between the Bulgarian People's Republic and the Soviet Union, guided by the basic stipulation of the party program: "To the Bulgarian Communist Party and the Bulgarian people Bulgarian-Soviet friendship is as important as the sun and the air are for any living being; it is a friendship stemming from the depth of the centuries and lasting for centuries; it is one of the main motive forces of our development, and a prerequisite for and guarantee of the further upsurge of our socialist fatherland, of its future."

Invariably, NOVO VREME prints materials on the Soviet Union and the Leninist party, the experience in the building of communism in the USSR, and the positive steps taken by the CPSU and the Soviet government for strengthening the unity and solidarity of the members of the socialist comity, and the initiatives aimed at achieving a radical change in international relations in the interest of peace and social progress.

A number of articles have discussed the 25th CPSU Congress. The journal particularly notes the topical nature of its conclusions and concepts in terms of the Bulgarian Communist Party and the harmony between the decisions of the 11th BCP Congress and those of the Soviet communist congress. The forum of the Bulgarian communists took place under the slogan of "Two Congresses--A Single Objective!" It is under this slogan that the journal is disseminating the decisions of the two congresses. "From the rostrum of the 11th congress," Comrade Todor Zhivkov said, "once again we loudly proclaim that we, Bulgarian communists, Bulgarian working people, the entire Bulgarian people, do not conceive for ourselves any way in building a developed socialist society and, subsequently, communism in Bulgaria other than the one we are following and will continue to follow shoulder to shoulder

with our Soviet brothers and sisters, under conditions of the closest possible all-round cooperation with Lenin's party, and under conditions of the ever fuller and ever more organic rapprochement between the Bulgarian People's Republic and the Great Union of Soviet Socialist Republics."

Many articles discuss the comprehensive activities of the Leninist Party, its Central Committee, and Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, CPSU general secretary. "The achievements of the Soviet working people in the Ninth Five Year Plan would have been impossible without the strategic plans of the 24th CPSU Congress elaborated with the personal participation of L. I. Brezhnev," the journal writes. "...the mature thinking, skill of creative scope, statesmanlike approach, and concerned attitude toward rank and file people were the qualities which the CPSU Central Committee general secretary clearly displayed in his speech at the October 1976 CPSU Central Committee plenum which represents the creative implementation of the decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress. ...L. I. Brezhnev's systematic efforts as the architect of the peaceful future of the entire world in which the only thing which will not take place will be an armistice between conflicting ideologies, is a model and proof of his tremendous responsibility for the further successful development of the world's revolutionary process."

The coordinated foreign political activities of the fraternal socialist countries, the journal writes, are a significant political phenomenon characteristic of contemporary developments. The program for the further struggle for peace and international cooperation and for the freedom and independence of the peoples adopted at the 25th CPSU Congress, became their common platform and the basis for their joint efforts. NOVO VREME points out that it is the deep conviction of the Bulgarian communists that its implementation is the real way for achieving a lasting peace. Together with the Soviet Union and the other members of the socialist comity the Bulgarian People's Republic is making its contribution to the implementation of this program which is consolidating and developing the successes reached in recent years.

Bulgaria's place and role in the positive changes which have taken place in the world arena are determined above all by the fact that it is a socialist country and a member of the family of fraternal countries, systematically strengthening and developing its inviolable friendship with the Soviet Union. Bulgaria's successes in the economic field, the development of science and culture, and the upgrading of the people's prosperity, which have turned it into a progressive socialist state, are having an exceptionally beneficial influence on the results of its foreign political activities, enhancing its international prestige.

The place and role of the Bulgarian People's Republic in international relations are determined by the fact that its ruling party--the BCP--is sacredly safeguarding the purity of Marxism-Leninism and its loyalty to internationalism, developing and multiplying the traditions established by Dimitur Blagoev and Georgi Dimitrov. As an organic part of the international communist and labor movements, the BCP is inflexibly pursuing a course of further unification of its ranks on a principled Marxist-Leninist basis.

The BCP considers as a guarantee for further successes on the path to peace and socialism the close unification of the members of the socialist comity and the unity of action of fraternal parties and progressive forces the world over.

Actively assisting the party in the implementation of its domestic and foreign policy, NOVO VREME is loyal to the traditions it has followed throughout its great militant 80 year old history: to remain on the level of the requirements of the time, to defend everything that is new and progressive, and to fight irreconcilably all manifestations of bourgeois ideology and opportunism for the sake of the creative development of scientific socialism and the triumph of Marxism-Leninism as a single international doctrine.

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## BOURGEOIS DEMOCRACY: MYTHS AND REALITY

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 4, Mar 77 pp 99-108

[Article by E. Kuz'min]

[Text] Democracy, freedom, equality... These slogans of popular and revolutionary movements have long been used by the exploiting classes to assert their domination and, occasionally, conceal most sinister matters. However, never before have they been used by these classes for such a shameless impact on the awareness of the masses as now, when hundreds and hundreds of millions of working people in the "free world" can see with their own eyes the unquestionable advantages of the communist civilization created by the peoples of the socialist comity.

The theory and practice of Marxism-Leninism radically changed the views of mankind on democracy and gave the traditional and very ancient concept of popular rule the basically new and immeasurably deeper content and meaning, firmly taking it out of the narrow frames established by the history of presocialist systems. "The establishment and strengthening of the Soviet system as one of the forms of the dictatorship of the proletariat insured real freedom and democracy for the tremendous majority of the working people unheard of and impossible in any capitalist country," emphasized the CPSU Central Committee in the decree on the 60th anniversary of the Great October Revolution -- the main event of the 20th century.

The merit of socialism lies in the fact that it provided a new, higher type of democracy, focusing the attention on the factual guarantees for proclaimed democratic principles, and asserting as inseparable elements of democracy not only the political but the socioeconomic rights of the citizens.

The socialist democracy is, above all, the active participation of the working people in the administration of social and governmental affairs, backed by the entire socialist system. It means freedom from exploitation, the right to work and to leisure, free education and medical services, and material security in old age. It means the just solution of the national question. Under socialism democracy is manifested in the historical objectives, tasks and functions of the state, the defense of the

gains of the working people, and the struggle for peace, international cooperation, and the freedom and independence of the nations. The Communist Party which rallies the best representatives of the working class, peasantry, and intelligentsia, and which pursues the entire policy in the interests of the people is the principal bearer of the principles of socialist democracy, and the guiding and directing force of our society. Our democracy served the cause of communism and encompasses all social life -- economic, political, and spiritual -- creating conditions for the all-around blossoming of the individual.

"Whatever may happen, we must break down the old, stupid, savage, disgusting, and base prejudice that the management of the state or of the organized building of a socialist society could be entrusted only to the so-called 'higher classes,' only to the rich or to those who have been trained by the rich classes," V. I. Lenin has pointed out ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], Vol 35, p 198). Assuming the solution of this problem of historical importance, the Great October Revolution led to active constructive activities of millions of Russian citizens, leading them to building of a new and happy life.

As two opposite social systems, socialism and capitalism have two basically different types of democracy. The contemporary ways of development of each of them are one of the decisive indicators of the viability of one or another social system as a whole. The severe crisis phenomena in the life of the contemporary bourgeois society, including in the realm of the political superstructure, become particularly noticeable against the background of the outstanding achievements of the Soviet state and the other socialist countries.

## I

The old world is experiencing most profound upheavals. It is a question not simply of the current extended decline in production but of an intensification of the ideological and political crisis of the bourgeois society. This crisis, L. I. Brezhnev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary, pointed out in his report at the 25th Leninist Party Congress, affects the power institutions, and bourgeois political parties. It weakens basic moral norms. In this case, as was pointed out at the Berlin Conference of Communist and Worker Parties of Europe, the reactionary circles of big capitalism are trying to find a solution by restricting further the rights of the people's masses.

Marxism-Leninism has proved that the form of organization of the power in an antagonistic society always yields to the very content of the power -- class domination. Regardless of the political form which such a domination may assume (parliamentary rule with all democratic attributes or esthetic system of personal power), in the final account its nature is always the same -- the dictatorship of the class ruling a given society. Big ownership has been, and remains, the decisive means for access to power.

"...As long as ownership remains in the hands of the capitalist," Lenin taught, "any democracy will be only a hypocritically concealed bourgeois dictatorship" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch," Vol 37, p 437).

Various types of entrepreneurial associations and unions -- sui generis headquarters of state-monopolistic capitalism -- are acting like the real rulers, directing the domestic and foreign policies of their countries. The American researchers D. Olson and P. Meyer admit that essentially the private corporations are "ruling institutions along with the official political institutions of the country and, in many cases, are even superior to the latter, for they largely control the lives of their hired labor and consumers... and determine national objectives and management" (D. J. Olson, and P. Meyer, "To Keep the Republic. Governing the United States in Its Third Century," New York, 1975, p 434). Under the conditions of the contemporary bourgeois society the interference of the authorities in the development of the economy, the implementation of individual socioeconomic reforms, the control of processes determined by the scientific and technical revolution, and many other measures are implemented, above all, in the interests of the capitalist. The monopolistic bourgeoisie is marching against the state in order to strengthen its positions even further in the leading economic, literary, diplomatic and administrative units of its apparatus. The arms manufacturers are being particularly active, seeing here the possibility for receiving new profitable orders and, consequently, for extracting fabulous profits. To an ever greater extent the military-industrial complexes are becoming the focal centers of the real power, exerting a negative influence on the development of political and social processes and phenomena.

The political parties representing the interests of individual monopolistic groups are competing in the struggle for the seizure of governmental power. Bourgeois ideologues frequently try to prove that the existence of the multiple party system in itself, allegedly, insures obedience to the "will of the majority" in governmental policy and is a "guarantee of democracy." In reality, this rivalry not only merely reflects the internal contradictions within the ruling classes, but, above all, is called upon to draw the proletariat and the exploited masses in general away from their class revolutionary tasks. This is a skillfully organized political game emphasizing individual and occasionally imaginary differences among bourgeois parties creating the appearance of a "struggle among political forces," "broad representation," and so on. In the final account, the "quarrel" among such parties, considering their growing subordination to big capitalism under imperialist conditions, is reduced to an ever greater extent, to use Lenin's words, to an "effective and meaningless duel" and to "trick the masses through the screen of democracy," and "direct them away from true democratic theory and true democratic practice" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 22, pp 63 and 193). It is used to disseminate the illusion of the "above-class" nature of the political system.

In an effort to retain the full power the owners of capital proclaim that the universal right to vote and the parliament are just about the highest embodiment of popular sovereignty. At the very same time, however, they do everything possible for the representative institutions not to exceed by far the frameworks of traditional parliamentary debates, even though, as a rule, they are staffed by the "proper people." In recent years, some changes have taken place in the electoral systems of the capitalist countries. Under the pressure of the masses adamantly defending their rights many prerequisites have been eliminated or reduced. In particular, the voting age has been lowered substantially almost everywhere. It could be said that qualifications -- a traditional lever in the hands of the ruling classes, having effectively been used for centuries to prevent the working people from voting -- are now losing all their former practical importance. However, this does not prevent the rich from maneuvering and adapting themselves skillfully to the new "rules of the game." Open and concealed restrictions of the rights of the working people remain. The electoral forms themselves do not mean in the least changes in the strategic course of the ruling circles. Furthermore, forced to make reforms, the bourgeoisie hopes to take its revenge with the help of the compensatory factors of a legal, political, and ideological nature, enabling it to counter quite effectively radical political change.

Here is, for example, the way the electoral system in the FRG fulfills its class role. Every West German citizen has the right to vote. The first is for one of the "direct candidates" nominated by the parties in 248 electoral districts (this elects one-half of the Bundestag, while the other half is elected on the basis of lists drawn up by the parties). The second is for one or another party. It is precisely the "second vote" that is considered decisive, for it is on its basis that the overall percentage of votes favoring a given party is determined and, correspondingly, the number of its seats in the Bundestag. Furthermore, the law calls for a "5 percent barrier." This means that only parties which have gathered no less than 5 percent of the vote may send their representative to the Bundestag. As researchers in the GDR had pointed out, such a rather clever invention is used for the type of antidemocratic restriction of the voting right which does not openly affect the individual voter but which, in reality, excludes the influence of a large percentage of the voters on the outcome of the elections (see G. Graf and G. Zayler, "Vybory i Izbiratel'noye Pravo v Klassovoy Bor'be" [Elections and Voting Rights in the Class Struggle], Moscow, 1974, p 164).

It is characteristic that under the conditions of a society which dooms the working people to passiveness and faithlessness, on their own initiative, a considerable number of voters do not vote. Absenteeism is particularly inherent in the United States where, occasionally, over one-half of the voters fail to vote. Tens of millions of Americans refused to take part in the 1974 Congressional elections, since, as the U.S. Census Bureau stated, they had no faith at all in the Republican and Democratic Party candidates. Only 63.2 million, or 45 percent, of the 141.3 million eligible citizens voted. The 1976 presidential elections showed that,

here again, the number of voters is declining steadily. Whereas in 1968 60.9 percent of those eligible voted the number declined to 55.4 percent in 1972 and to only 53.3 percent last year.

Why is it that many Americans no longer restricted by a number of requirements, with a higher degree of literacy, and so on, voluntarily refuse to vote? Answering the question, the bourgeois scientists themselves name among the principal reasons the growing mistrust of the voters of elections as a means for participating in the making of political decisions and of the "prospective candidates" whose campaign promises differ from their subsequent actions, and of the ever more discredited political system safeguarding the interests of the ruling elite. Refusal to vote is an active boycott, a kind of protest against the largely formal nature of the traditional bourgeois democratic institution.

The mechanism of the electoral system in the United States, Japan, and other bourgeois countries is so structured that the candidate's electoral success is frequently based less on their political platforms than on the power of the organizations supporting them, and on financial resources above all. We must also bear in mind that powerful instruments in the battle for votes such as the press, radio and television are invariably at the disposal of the bourgeoisie. To an ever greater extent the monopolies subordinate to their interests public opinion polls which give them adequately reliable basic data in planning political actions (including elections), forecast undesirable consequences, and establish the moods of the different population groups and strata. The organizers of electoral campaigns rely on sensationalism, occasionally promoting minor details of the candidate's biographies, and resorting to pure publicity tricks in an effort to influence the emotions of the voters to a maximal extent.

The purpose of the "free play of political forces" and other demagogic means is to support the myth of the participation of the people in government. In fact, as before, representatives of the rich classes and strata predominate in bourgeois parliaments. Thus, the Americans themselves describe the U.S. Congress as a "club for the rich." Many congressmen are directly linked with big business and the banks. Most legislators refuse to make their income public. Yet even selective data show that tens of senators and congressmen are millionaires. L. Rieselbach, professor at Indiana State University, notes that the composition of the congress does not correspond to the social structure, and that its members "are elected mainly among Americans who, by virtue of their profession, education and capital are on the upper ladder of society" (L. Rieselbach, "Congressional Politics," New York, 1973, p 54). This largely applies to the parliaments of other capitalist countries as well.

However, monopoly capitalism is not satisfied with being directly represented in parliament. Striving toward ever more rigid control over the implementation of legislative functions, it makes extensive use of its influence and "informal" relations to exert pressure on the remaining representatives. This is achieved, among others, by lobbying -- exerting

an influence with the help of a group of people who are, as a rule, highly paid bourgeois businessmen, lawyers, or former representatives or officials. Essentially, not only in the United States but in other countries as well, the lobbies operate as "third" parliament chambers or even as "second" governments. One after another tremendous scandals related to embezzlement of public property, bribery, and corruption break out.

## II

Slightly over a year ago a symposium on "Who Legislates in the Contemporary World?" was held in Geneva, sponsored by the Interparliamentary Union. The main report delivered by French National Assembly representative A. Chandernagor, noted that in practice many important parliamentary rights are being delegated ever more frequently to the executive authorities, allegedly by virtue of a number of objective factors such as the expansion of international contacts, the intensification of planning elements, a more active implementation of currency, customs, and tariff policies, and others, allegedly requiring a faster legislative decision making.

Two separate lines became clearly apparent in the course of the discussions. The representatives of the capitalist countries spoke of the serious difficulties encountered by the parliaments, the acute shortage of information, and the direct threat to the constitutional institutions on the part of the technocrats. They emphasized that the factual legislator is the government itself. Meanwhile, the speeches by the representatives of the socialist countries convincingly proved that under socialism there neither is nor could there be any pitting of the government against parliament, and that representatives have the final word in the formulation and adoption of laws, regardless of who initiates the matter.

From the viewpoint of official doctrine, naturally, the representative remains the central figure of bourgeois parliamentary representation. However, to an ever greater extent his factual position proves the unreliability of this theoretical postulate, for under the bourgeois system the very choice of candidates greatly limits the possibility of the rank and file electorate to have a factual influence on the parliamentary structure. Many representatives have nothing to do with the life of the voters or with the vital problems affecting the people. "Theoretically and by law the members of the House of Commons possess absolute sovereignty," wrote the author of the encyclopedic study on modern Great Britain, A. Sampson. "They could cross examine state officials, send to jail newspaper editors, and demand that black be described as white. The judges are ready to interpret the laws issued by parliament and the officials are ready to carry them out. In practice, however, the sovereignty of parliament is lost in the confused labyrinths of power surrounding it" (A. Sampson, "Novaya Anatomiya Britanii" [The New Anatomy of Britain], Moscow, 1975, p 31). This is a valuable and bitter admission!

Unwilling to determine the real reasons for the crisis in the parliamentary system, the bourgeois politicians and ideologues are trying to find a solution in modernizing purely organizational forms, improving information, and implementing other similar measures. All this, however, naturally, does not affect the very foundations of the bourgeois parliamentary system. Yet the exploiting classes cannot ignore the growing discontent and pressure of the toiling masses. With a view to securing votes, the ruling elite is forced occasionally to formulate superficially tempting slogans and give their programs a progressive appearance.

This essentially contradictory process is due to the heterogeneous nature of the bourgeoisie of the class, and to a certain struggle being waged among its various groups and currents. Depending on the specific situation the monopoly bourgeoisie and its individual ruling factions prefer to rely on the parliament as the main tool for the production of their interests. They still consider it an authority which helps, on the one hand, to express the common class will of the bourgeoisie, dressed as a "national" law, and on the other, to lead the people's masses away from the struggle for social liberation.

The working people are unwilling to tolerate the arbitrariness of the power of the rich or to tolerate dictatorial ruling methods. They are attacking the reaction ever more firmly. The experience in the political, including electoral, struggle has taught the working class and the communist parties a great deal. Today in countries with a well organized labor movement the bourgeoisie is quite frequently unable to contain the development of events within limits relatively safe to itself. Now, as shown by the results of parliamentary and local self-administration elections held in France, Italy and several other countries, the working people are able to achieve certain successes on this front as well, when they rally their ranks in alliances of progressive forces. Successful mastery of all forms of class struggle makes possible to protect the democratic gains of the people and to oppose growing autocratic trends.

The starting point in the interpretation of democracy and human rights within the limits of the bourgeois outlook is the absolutized "freedom of the individual," extreme individualism. However, without factually securing basic civil rights -- the right to work, education, and security in old age, without freedom of speech and conscience and without equality of all in the eyes of the law, regardless of national affiliation, wealth or religious conviction, and without firm confidence in the future an existence worthy of man neither exists nor could exist. The possibility of gaining and using socioeconomic rights and political freedoms depends to a decisive extent on the social structure. It is precisely this that capitalism neither provides nor could provide.

Capitalism means dependence on the working people on the class of the owners of capital goods, on the bourgeoisie. Unlike socialism, "universal prosperity" has been, and remains, under such circumstances a Utopia while the economic and political instability, spiritual impoverishment of

society, and the social defenseless of the working people are the sad realities. Unemployment, complicated by unrestrained inflation and a headlong increase in the prices of consumer goods have become the real tragedy of 18 million people in the western countries. Life itself mercilessly exposes the "equal opportunity" myth.

The concentration of infinite wealth in the hands of an extremely limited circle of people, on the one hand, and the difficult situation of tens of millions of working people, on the other, is a characteristic feature of the bourgeois way of life. The reasons for the trouble afflicting a considerable share of the population of any capitalist country are hardly found in bad luck, as bourgeois propaganda claims, but in the very system which subordinates production to monopoly interests. "...Technological improvements which represent higher labor productivity and the growth of the public wealth leads, in a bourgeois society, to the growth of social inequality and of the gap between the haves and have nots as well as the growing insecurity of life, unemployment, and various privations afflicting ever broader toiling masses" (V. I. Lenin, "Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 32, p 149). As long as capitalism exists the effect of this objective law will be experienced ever more strongly.

Frequently the bourgeois and reformist theoreticians depict the activities of the state in the social area, which entails certain financial outlays (raising minimal wages, increasing unemployment payments and others), as just about a victim sacrificed on the altar of the interests of the working people. In reality, implementing individual socioeconomic measures which ease the life of the masses to a certain extent, temporarily, the bourgeois state is trying to deflect the blow aimed at the monopolies.

A certain energizing of measures in the social area is not based on any kind of humane considerations; even less does it prove any changes in the class nature of capitalism. It is related, above all, to the adamant struggle waged by the working class and all working people for their rights which they literally extract from the hands of the bourgeoisie, and the need to take into consideration the tremendous power of attraction of the ideas of the Great October Revolution, and the outstanding achievements of existing socialism in its organization of labor and health protection, and successes in education and culture.

In an effort to adapt to the new conditions developing in the international arena and within the individual capitalist countries, ever more frequently the monopoly bourgeoisie hides behind the mask of fighter for democracy and humanism, doing everything possible to conceal its exploiting nature. An important role is assigned here, once again, to the absolutizing of concepts such as "freedom" and "justice," the desire to weaken their factual social content, and efforts to conceal or distort their clear class content. The bourgeois ideologues dress as defenders of human "self-expression," which in their understanding, is not the equivalent of freedom from exploitation and oppression and is not related to the maximum satisfaction of human material and spiritual needs, but obtains its highest manifestation only in granting the "free citizen" the possibility to

"make decisions independently" and "share responsibilities." What this conceals is confirmed by the statement made by H. Kohl leader of the West German CDU: "He who aspires toward a free society must reconcile himself to social inequality."

The crisis of bourgeois democracy is manifested ever more noticeably in the systematic substitution of legality -- an inviolable element of political democracy -- with illegal actions, and extremely gross violations of human rights. Even though in recent years, as a result of the adamant struggle waged by progressive forces, certain successes have been achieved in their defense, civil rights remain the target of the most frequent encroachments on the part of the monopoly bourgeoisie. A great deal has been written about this by the western press, particularly in connection with the exposure of the illegal activities of the U.S. CIA and FBI, the purge of "radical elements" in the FRG, and others. Today even curtailed democracy does not suit the capitalist magnates who, as was clearly indicated by the events in Chile, are willing to trample on democracy and freedom and drown them in blood, and commit any crime for the sake of achieving their selfish purposes.

### III

A kind of theoretical base is being laid under the processes of the destruction of legality. In particular, American futurologist A. Toffler preaches that a legal life adapted to the stable forms of the "industrial society" is unable to follow the main trends of the "superindustrial revolution": the "fragmentation" and differentiation of material and cultural life and related sociopolitical decentralization, the "ephemeral" nature of short and rapidly changing social phenomena. Under such circumstances which trigger a variety of "behavioral models," allegedly the law is unable to fulfill its main function: to represent the reaction of society to a departure from the norms. According to the author the solution is the creation of the type of social order in which the law would play a strictly subordinate role and in which the need for a complex and widespread legislation would be eliminated. A society consisting of "self-ruling communities" could rely on improvised noninstitutional courts, penalties, and so on (see A. Toffler, "The Future of Law and Order," ENCOUNTER, July, No 1, Vol 41, London, 1973, pp 13-23).

Such views are an acknowledgement of the crisis experienced by the bourgeois legal system under the conditions of state-monopoly capitalism. They show a fear of the social consequences of the scientific and technical revolution which is presented as the main reason for all troubles. The abandonment of legality, demanded by Toffler and like-thinking people, could bring about an even greater arbitrariness in the power of the rich. Such an approach is grist in the mill of the reaction.

The willy-nilly acknowledgement of the severe crisis in which bourgeois democracy finds itself is voiced ever more frequently by the defenders

of the old world. Something else is noteworthy, however: the large number of prescriptions they issue to cure "sick" democracy turn out to be ineffective. Hence the broad spectrum of heterogeneous, frequently contradictory and, occasionally, mutually exclusive concepts, trends, and views shown by contemporary bourgeois theoreticians.

The theories of parliamentary supremacy and popular sovereignty are still on the agenda even though they are being questioned ever more loudly.

The concepts of elitism are still heard. The bourgeois and social-reformist theory of "pluralist democracy," which has truthfully served over many years the interests of monopoly capitalism by disseminating illusions on the "dispersal" and "division of power" among various population strata has been particularly popular. Today this concept as well is questioned by the bourgeois scientists in view of the intensifying bureaucratic centralization of power.

Despite the many works written and various types of theories and schools, we clearly see their common methodological fault: by democracy in general bourgeois and social reformist authors usually understand only several characteristics. It is precisely they that are emphasized. The connection between these characteristics and economics and the class struggle in society is ignored. As a result, the essence of bourgeois democracy and its central political content are emasculated and concealed, while all attention is focused on the formalistic study of specific state-legal institutions. Thus, the concept of democracy provided as early as 1951 in the Frankfurt Declaration of Socialist International canonized by the Social Democrats, is still accepted. It includes freedom of speech, education, and religious beliefs, universal elections, a public judicial system, the existence of more than one party, and opposition rights.

The authors of the collective work "Political Science. An Introduction," written at Northeastern University (United States) divide contemporary ruling systems into six types: full democracy, democracy, limited democracy, authoritarianism, totalitarianism, and full totalitarianism (see R. L. Cord, J. A. Medeiros, and W. S. Jones, "Political Science. An Introduction," New York, 1974). The respective systems are characterized on the basis of indicators such as number of parties, organization of elections, attitude of the state toward the rights and freedoms of the citizens, and similar elements of the traditional "collection" of democratic characteristics. The essence -- the real nature of proclaimed rights and freedom, and the subordination of the activities of political parties and of governmental democratic institutions to class interests -- are not even mentioned in this work, as in many others.

It is noteworthy, however, that today some social reformist ideologues, forced to take into consideration the mood of the masses and the heating of the class struggle, are trying to separate themselves from "pure" democracy. They proclaim the need for the democratization of socioeconomic relations as an addition to the allegedly already existing

political democracy under the conditions of the bourgeois system. Thus, some Social Democrats in the FRG claim to reject a narrow interpretation of democracy, considering it as a principle which should imbue all social life, unlike the CDU which, traditionally, considers democracy only a form of political power. The book "Democratization in the State and Society" offers a study of the trends to be followed by democratization in economics, the electoral system, planning, education, and the production sector (see M. Greiffenhagen, "Demokratisierung in Staat und Gesellschaft" [Democratization in the State and Society], Munich, 1973).

Such observations and conclusions, naturally, represent a certain departure from the formalized interpretation of democracy, typical of bourgeois-reformist science. In practical terms, however, this does not advance matters particularly.

Analyzing the crisis of bourgeois democracy it is important to note that, in itself, it neither is nor could be a serious obstacle on the path of reaction. Both bourgeois-liberal and openly authoritarian systems are created, in general, by the same private ownership base, the capitalist production method, and, in the final account, are the political reflection of bourgeois rule. Yet we must also take fully into consideration that "imperialism does not stop the development of capitalism or the growth of democratic tendencies among the population but aggravates the antagonism between such democratic aspirations and antidemocratic trends of the trusts" (V. I. Lenin, "Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 30, p 102).

Naturally, the form of the state and the political system within which the proletarians must fight for its liberation are far from being a matter of indifference to the Marxists-Leninists. The founders of scientific communism have always emphasized the need for a struggle for democracy which opens greater possibilities for the development of the struggle for socialism. Exposing the slander that the communists are the enemies of democracy, Lenin pointed out that "the development of democracy to the end, and the finding of forms for such a development, testing them in practice, and so on, are one of the structural tasks of the struggle for a social revolution" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 33, p 79).

This conclusion was developed further in the most important documents of the international communist movement, the CPSU Program, and the decisions of fraternal Marxist-Leninist parties of foreign countries. Headed by the working class and its vanguard, the people's masses in the capitalist countries are engaged in an adamant struggle for democracy for the working people. The characteristics of this struggle at the present stage are a firm demand for a substantial renovation of democratic institutions and for broadening rights and freedoms. Promoting the extension of democracy to economic management, and radical change which could give the forms of democracy a new content, the communists give a political education to the masses, preparing them for the role of managers of the wealth and destinies of their own countries. Lenin foresaw that the struggle for profound democratic changes could bring about the establishment of a

revolutionary-democratic state taking steps toward socialism (see "Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 34, pp 191-194). Without replacing a socialist revolution, the struggle for democracy is the most important means for weakening state-monopoly capitalism. Its results are of essential significance to the future solution of problems related to the building of a new society.

The Great October Socialist Revolution, which proclaimed the advent of a new era in universal history, built the road to a new society for whose successful development true democracy is a necessary prerequisite. "We created a society free from the rule of the monopolistic oligarchy, free from the fear of crises and unemployment, and free from social calamities," pointed out L. I. Brezhnev, CPSU Central Committee General Secretary, addressing the Berlin Conference of Communist and Worker Parties of Europe. "We created a society of people equal in the broadest meaning of the term, people unfamiliar with class, property, race, or other privileges, a society which not only proclaims the rights of man but insures the factual possibility of their exercise."

It is precisely under socialist conditions that the formal and limited nature of democracy, in its bourgeois interpretation, is surmounted, since the center of gravity is shifted to the establishment of the type of socio-economic conditions thanks to which the administration of the affairs of society and the state, and the exercise of broad rights and freedoms become reality for the people's masses. Here it is a question of a historical process in the course of which society masters to an ever greater extent conditions governing its existence and plans its further development in the interests of the successful satisfaction of economic, socio-political, and spiritual requirements of the citizens. This is the main direction of socialism -- a society of true democracy and freedom, and of true humanism.

The image of socialism, created by the October Revolution, draws the attention of millions of working people abroad, showing them a real alternative to bankrupt bourgeois democracy, inspiring them to new victories in the struggle against reactionary forces.

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## FRUITS OF A SHORTSIGHTED POLICY

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 4, Mar 77 pp 109-114 LD

[Article by V. Melkumov]

[Text] The Near East at present is a focus of events and processes which, in toto, have acquired great significance not only for this region but also for the rest of the world. However much many of them may differ in form and content and whatever aspects of life they may concern, they all directly or indirectly affect the overall problem of settling the Near East conflict.

It will soon be 10 years that the state of a permanent lack of settlement in this region, which is the result of the policy of Israel's expansionist circles supported by the United States, has been having a most adverse effect on the position of the Near East's peoples and states. Military operations are not being conducted here today, but no one will guarantee that they will not flare up once again. The prevailing situation poses a threat to world peace and is preventing the further spread and deepening of the relaxation of international tensions. The conflict's shadow extends far beyond the Near East region.

The peoples of this region have taken a tremendous step forward in the years since World War II. The Arab countries have freed themselves from the old colonial yoke. National patriotic forces have developed, progressive and leftist organizations have been strengthened and the consciousness of the people's masses has grown. Invaluable experience has been accumulated in building the national economy, creating its state sector, transforming the countryside and developing the cooperative movement. Almost all imperialist military bases have been liquidated. A number of countries have chosen a path of social development with a socialist orientation. The Arab countries' economic, political and cultural relations with the Soviet Union and the other socialist community states have grown immeasurably, been enriched and risen to a qualitatively new level.

At the same time the overall situation in the Near East arena has been greatly complicated. Whereas, for example, 20 years ago various sectors of society and the Arab world were uniting on the platform of the national liberation struggle, in the subsequent period the process of the differentiation of

class forces and the exacerbation of the contradictions between them have speeded up here. This differentiation has also begun to manifest itself in some way or another in the sphere of foreign policy.

In this connection many observers draw attention to the recent sharp turn in policy made by the Egyptian leadership. A trend toward a definite "bourgeoisification" at the top of the state apparatus has gradually appeared in Egypt. The traditional corruptibility of the various links of the administration has contributed to the growth--both alongside this apparatus and within its midst--of the so-called parasitic bourgeoisie, which gets rich on contracts and speculations. In the countryside, which gave rise to capitalism spontaneously and on a mass scale, the stratum of rich peasants has been strengthened. It has become the dominant force outside the big cities, and the policy of deepening social reforms did not accord with its class interests.

Recently the Egyptian authorities have actively been pursuing the so-called open door policy, which, inter alia, envisages guarantees for foreign capital. This was a concession not only to the monopolies but also to the Egyptian bourgeoisie, and facilitated its freedom of action in the country. Foreign capital, however, is no longer satisfied with the indulgences shown it and is asking for more--for virtually a total revision of all that was done during the life of President 'Abd an-Nasir. Mercenary speculative circles have chiefly taken advantage of the "liberalization" of economic policy. At the same time it should be pointed out that despite all the attacks the state sector of the Egyptian economy is maintaining its dominant positions. It accounts for the overwhelming share of industrial output, a considerable proportion of foreign trade and the bulk of capital investments. True national interests demand not the weakening but the strengthening of this sector.

The open-door policy, the policy of stimulating, capitalists trend and evading the progressive course linked with Abd an-Nasir's name, has resulted in the exacerbation of social conflicts. Eloquent testimony of this is provided by the events of January this year, when all Egypt was in the grip of popular mass disturbances by the government's decision to hike prices. Demonstrations took place in Cairo, Alexandria and many other cities, and strikes were held at big industrial enterprises. Dozens of people died and hundreds were injured during clashes with the police and army units. Mass arrests were made in the capital and other regions of the country under the pretext of the struggle against "communist conspirators." Fearing a fresh outburst of discontent, the authorities rescinded their decision to raise prices.

In assessing the situation in Egypt, as well as in the Arab world as a whole, we must not forget a quite new factor, which was unknown here either 20 or even 5 years ago, namely, the extraordinary growth in the influence of the oil-producing countries. This particularly concerns the Persian Gulf basin,

where two-thirds of the known oil reserves in the nonsocialist world lie. The excess of demand over supply has resulted in a fivefold rise in oil prices on the world capitalist market. Having squeezed the foreign cartels and established full or partial control over their natural resources, the members of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) have begun receiving almost full value for crude oil, which has meant that very considerable capital measured in tens of billions of dollars has passed into their hands.

Of OPEC's Arab members Iraq and Algeria, above all, are in a position to use the funds for development needs. But as regards the countries of the Arabian Peninsula, where the most sparsely populated regions with the most backward social structures have the biggest oil reserves, they act otherwise.

The petroleum countries of Arabia have begun exporting capital on an unprecedented scale. Indeed, it is exported primarily in the form of acquiring state bonds and paper money of developed capitalist states, but also in the form of short-term bank deposits. The oil "princes" have grown so rich and at the same time so linked themselves with the magnates of the West that a new financial center of capitalism, albeit with subordinate significance, has essentially emerged in the Persian Gulf basin.

The Arabian oil oligarchy--let us call it that--has acquired the possibility of influencing the whole Near East situation. In exchange for giving other Arab countries financial aid Saudi Arabia and states like it demand certain payment in both the foreign and the domestic policy spheres. By investing capital in neighboring Arab countries that are trying, like the West, to strengthen capitalist trends there and are supporting everywhere the most reactionary forces and financing fanatical religious organizations. "Oil" money is increasing corruption and degradation in the bureaucratic apparatus and certain other circles of society and stimulating the spirit of money-grubbing and easy profit.

Such, it may be said, are the regional causes of complications in the Near East. In examining them we must also take account of the fact that the strategic priorities of imperialism in this region are changing.

Previously, oil deliveries from the Persian Gulf basin were vitally necessary primarily for the economies of West Europe and Japan. But now the economy of the United States, which has become the world's biggest importer of liquid fuel--importing approximately 40 percent of the oil it consumes--is also becoming increasingly dependent on these deliveries. And this percentage is growing. If we add that oil also occupies a special place in the Pentagon's plans, it will become clear why U.S. imperialism continues to support Israel and, at the same time, has adopted a policy of strengthening the armed forces of the biggest Persian Gulf country in the "northern tier" of the Near and Middle East--Iran.

This state, which is riding the crest of the oil boom, intends to purchase U.S. weapons worth additional billions of dollars in the next 5-year period. There are now more than 20,000 Americans in Iran, and by 1980, according to forecasts, this number may reach 50,000-60,000. They are chiefly military people, in or out of uniform, and also ex-servicemen.

The U.S. press today writes about Iran as "a close and reliable friend in a complex strategic situation" and expresses the hope that it "will become one of the world's 10 chief military powers." Yes, there are many disagreements between Washington and Teheran, including on the question of oil prices, but this does not prevent the United States from allocating to Iran the role of an important factor in its policy in this region of the world.

Meanwhile, the arms race has also spread to the other side of the Persian Gulf, where people are endeavoring not to lag behind Iran. Saudi Arabia (with a population of approximately 8 million, one-fourth of Iran's) is arming particularly actively. A stream of U.S. weapons worth billions of dollars is flowing there, and thousands of military advisers are being sent there. Michael Klare, author of the book "War Without End: U.S. Planning of the Next Vietnam," writes: "U.S. military personnel have already invaded the Near East, and today U.S. specialist virtually exercise control over the majority of armed forces of the Persian Gulf."

While placing emphasis in its plans on two non-Arab countries--Israel and Iran--at the same time Washington set itself the aim of preventing the consolidation of an anti-imperialist front of Arab states. Influential circles in the U.S. capital sought an opportunity to split their ranks and to stoke the contradictions there right up as far as direct military conflicts. The chief efforts were concentrated on Egypt in order to set it against the other participants in the anti-imperialist struggle.

Some people in Cairo met the United States halfway, reckoning on U.S. economic aid and "oil" money from Arabia. Separate agreements with Israel gave Egypt a "prize" in the form of the Sinai oilfields. These measures merely created an illusion of progress in settling the Near East conflict, leaving to one side the solution of the key problems of the crisis.

Having achieved a certain "neutralization" of Egypt and pushing it toward increasingly greater isolation among the progressive Arab regimes--which was greatly facilitated by Cairo's policy of concluding separate agreements--U.S. imperialism and local reaction did not restrict themselves to this. They set about seeking out additional opportunities to split and weaken the Arab forces of national liberation, seeking, above all, to strike a blow against the Palestine resistance movement.

Lebanon became the field for these "quests," which ended in bloody civil war. The choice did not fall on Lebanon by chance. It was conditioned not only by its common border with Israel, as well as with Syria, but also by the highly complex internal political situation.

Since 1943, when Lebanon's independence was proclaimed, an archaic system or representation in the highest organs of power along religious lines had been preserved in the country. The advantage remained on the side of the Christian communities and, particularly, the most influential of them--the Maronite community, which has its roots in the fifth century A.D. There were five Moslems for every six Christians in Parliament. A Maronite became president of the republic, a Sunni Moslem prime minister and so forth. It was believed that in 1943 this political structure corresponded to the size of the individual religious communities. But, as time passed, the correlation between groups of the population changed in favor of the Moslems, but the proportions of representation in the organs of power remained the same.

A special feature of Lebanon also consisted in the mass arming of its inhabitants, divided into different communities. The 15,000-strong Lebanese Army was weaker than these local formations. Suffice it to say that the Phalangist Party (Qata'ib) numbered approximately 20,000 storm troopers. Leftwing organizations also had thousands of fighters, but on the whole the military balance evolved in favor of the rightists.

At the end of the sixties, however, the "Palestinian factor" emerged in the Lebanon--approximately 350,000 refugees, who began to wield an organized and well-armed force. Their status was defined by the 1969 Cairo agreements concluded by the Palestine Liberation Organization [PLO] and the Lebanese state. They proclaimed the Palestinians' aim to be the struggle against Israeli aggression. Naturally, the presence of 15 Palestinian camps on Lebanese territory did not suit Tel Aviv, which tried its utmost to weaken the forces of the resistance movement.

A small push was enough to spark the conflict. Weighty grounds now exist for believing that it was provoked by Israel and the United States in the spring of 1975. Events soon escalated, dragging into the maelstrom all sections of Lebanese society and also the Palestinians, who sought at first to observe neutrality in the internal Lebanese dispute. Arab states interfered in the civil war.

The rightists in Lebanon established control over part of the country north of Beirut. Embryos of their own administration, courts and financial organs, a mail service and even their own "capital"--the small port city of Juniyah--emerged there. The bloc of rightwing parties (Qata'ib, the National Liberal Party, the "Guardians of the Cedars," the Maronite League and others) attempted to extend the territory under their control.

Israel actively helped the Lebanese rightists. Its ships blockaded the sea-coast, seizing weapons, foodstuffs and medical supplies sent to the leftists to the ports of Sidon and Tyre. However, ships with weapons for the rightists entered Juniyah unhindered.

The situation was complicated by contradictions and clashes which suddenly arose in the ranks of anti-imperialist and anti-Zionist forces in the Arab

East. Old allies who had common strategic tasks clashed during the Lebanese crisis, and this threatened great harm for their common cause. The disruption of cooperation between Syria and the PLO entailed grave consequences. The U.S. INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE wrote at the time, not without malicious joy: "The PLO is being destroyed in Lebanon as a possible independent factor on the Arab scene....Lebanon was the only place where the PLO occupied an autonomous position."

The clashes in Lebanon helped to exacerbate the disagreements in the Arab world. The chief task--the struggle to liquidate the consequences of Israel's 1967 aggression and to liberate the occupied territories--was pushed out of the limelight for a while. As the NEW YORK TIMES pointed out at the height of events, Israel felt easier than at any other time of late. This admission in itself attests who profited from the Lebanese crisis.

The Israeli rulers long since elevated violence and religious intolerance to the rank of state policy. They perceived the Lebanese events as convenient grounds for maintaining that followers of different religions cannot coexist within the framework of a single state. Tel Aviv hoped that at least one more state would emerge alongside Israel--a state built on chauvinist and religious principles--as a result of the division of Lebanon.

The war in Lebanon, which is now over after being stopped with such difficulty, carried off tens of thousands of Lebanese. Palestinian and Syrian lives. Colossal material and cultural wealth was destroyed. Everyone has been convinced that the Lebanese conflict cannot be resolved either by military means or by disregarding the rights of the Palestinians and the legitimate demands of Lebanon's national patriotic forces. The events in this country have demonstrated once again the dangers harbored by further protection of the Near East conflict.

One of the most spurious principles among conciliationist circles in Arab countries consists in the allegation that 99 percent of the trump cards for settling the Near East crisis are in the hands of the United States. To maintain such a thing means forgetting about the sacrifices made by the Egyptian, Syrian, Iraqi and Palestinian peoples, denying the role of the struggle of the people's masses and the strength of the Arab countries' solidarity and belittling the support of the Soviet Union and the other socialist states for the Arabs' right cause.

Yes, the United States also wants a settlement, but on terms of splitting the Arab countries' front and even dividing them up into smaller states, at the cost of some of them abandoning progressive reforms and consolidating the positions of trans-Atlantic monopolies in this region, and by means of undermining the Arab peoples' friendly relations with the peoples of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries. Are such calculations realistic? Of course not.

It is generally known that Cairo has found itself in the middle of a triangle formed by the interests of the United States, Israel and Saudi

Arabia. But all its "well-wishers"--both overt and hidden--have no need of a prosperous, industrially developed Egypt, whatever the regime there. Of course, Israel does not need it. Feudal Saudi Arabia also fears a potentially strong Egypt, although, thanks to oil, it today surpasses Egypt in terms of gross national product. A strong Egypt could once again find itself the leader of the Arab countries opposed to neocolonialist pretensions. Therefore, in giving the Arab Republic of Egypt assistance, both the oil monarchies of Arabia and the United States are seeking to limit it with such stipulations and on such a scale that Egypt neither sinks nor swims but flounders in the waves of a domestic crisis, failing to resolve a single one of its economic problems.

The United States and West Europe are putting Cairo in a difficult position by arming Israel, Saudi Arabia and Iran. At the same time many people in the Arab world are growing increasingly convinced of the coincidence of the long-term interests of the Soviet Union and the Arabs, particularly the Egyptian people. The USSR advocates independent development for the countries of the Near East and wishes to see Egypt a strong state struggling to strengthen its independence.

In seeking to prompt the Arab countries to make concessions to Israel Washington is also doing this state a disservice. It is cultivating in Israel the false feeling that it is possible to persist in seizures, in annexation and in the policy of threats and pressure. No one must forget, however, that Israel has already had to pay for the military victory of 1967 with the blood of its citizens not only then but also in 1973.

The Soviet Union has always proceeded from the premise that the peoples of the Near East must be complete masters of their own destiny and gain the opportunity to live under conditions of independence, freedom and peace. The Near East needs a lasting and just settlement which would not infringe the vital rights of a single state or a single people. This is precisely why the USSR emphasizes that lasting and just peace can be achieved in this region only as the result of an all-embracing settlement. This means resolving a number of organically interconnected cardinal problems; the withdrawal of Israeli troops from all the territories occupied in 1967; insurance of the legitimate rights of the Arab people of Palestine, including their right to set up their own state; guarantees of the right to independent existence and development for all Near East countries; an end to the state of war between the Arab countries and Israel.

Major military clashes have occurred repeatedly over the past 20 years between Israel and Arab states. Failure to end the unsettled nature of the situation in this region means preserving the possibility of new and still more dangerous collisions in the Near East, a region which has still not rid itself of the burden of backwardness aggravated by the fact that the pace of the arms race here is seven times higher than in the world as a whole.

The extension to the Near East of the relaxation of international tension and of the method of resolving disputes by means of negotiation and on the basis of a sensible compromise, and the ending of the arms race, which can be achieved only under conditions of an all-embracing just settlement of the protracted conflict--this is what is demanded by the interests of all the peoples of this region and of all mankind.

CSO: 1802

## EXPLOITATION TODAY: MENTAL BURDENS AT THE CAPITALIST ENTERPRISE

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 4, Mar 77 pp 115-119

[Review of the book "Moderne Uitbuiting, Psychische Overbelasting, Stijgend Ziekteverzuim" [Contemporary Exploitation, Mental Overload, and Increased Number of Work Days Lost as a Result of Illness]. Published by the Institute of Political and Social Research. Amsterdam, sixth printing, 1976]

[Text] The economic crisis which is continuing in the capitalist countries is characterized by high level unemployment, inflation and cost of living, and increased offensive launched by the monopolies against the vital interests and rights of the working people.

In Holland, as in the other capitalist countries, mass unemployment has become a permanent factor of economic life. Currently the country has 225,000 unemployed people. According to economists, this figure will reach 350,000 in the immediate future. Last year prices rose by 8.4 percent. At the same time, allocations for health protection, education, culture and other social means are being curtailed. In 1977 such budget items will be reduced by 2.7 billion guildens.

However, even the situation of those who are still employed by capitalist enterprises could not be described satisfactory in the least. Thus, cases of various types of professional illness are becoming ever more frequent. Such was the conclusion reached by a group of physicians, psychologists, and sociologists in the course of an all-around study of the situation of the working people at work organized by the Institute of Political and Social Research (IPSO) of the Communist Party of The Netherlands Central Committee. This work, published as a pamphlet entitled "Contemporary Exploitation, Mental Overload, and Increased Number of Lost Work Days as a Result of

Illness," was carried out in close contact with the country's trade union organizations. Following is an account of this study.

The IPSO study emphasizes the consequences encountered by the working people in connection with the intensification of the crisis phenomena in the capitalist economy. The exploitation methods now used by the big entrepreneurs inevitably lead to an increase in the physical and nervous overloading of blue and white collar workers who are always afraid of losing their jobs. The authors determined that the increased number of work days lost as a result of illness are due, above all, to overloading. They note that the same view is held by the ILO whose official 1972 report states that "cases of nervous exhaustion and complaints of mental deviations are steadily increasing" among the workers. Studying the real reasons for the increased number of work days lost as a result of illness, the authors have fully taken into consideration the changes occurring at capitalist enterprises as a result of the use of the latest achievements of scientific and technical progress. As a consequence labor intensiveness has increased and the army of unemployed has grown.

In the capitalist society an ever larger number of able-bodied people drop out from the production process not on their own free will. At the same time, the employed are forced to work at a higher pace. The fear of dismissal keeps them in a state of permanent nervous stress. Hoping to "survive" and not lose their piece of bread, they overstress their forces in an effort to reach the highest possible individual work indicators.

The frequency of illnesses triggered by such an overstress has become truly gigantic. The IPSO study points out that (Andre de Leeu), a psychotherapist and member of the Dutch Parliament, believes that at the present time one out of five members of the active population has lost his ability to work and is described as "inactive." Such a situation is characteristic not of The Netherlands alone. Wherever capitalism rules production exists only for the sake of profits. This leads to the appearance of methods of exploitation in the course of which the health of the working people is irreparably damaged. Hundreds of thousands of people are doomed to diseases and privations, and to the threat of demoralization. What is happening in the capitalist countries is a gigantic waste of human talent and manpower, as well as creative capacity.

The development process of contemporary capitalism proves that the increased number of work days lost as a result of illness parallels the steadily growing unemployment. Both are a consequence of the sharp increase in labor intensification. Thus, the West German trade union of the metal processing industry workers "IG-Metall" has estimated that in 1973 only one-quarter of the working time required in 1950 was needed per unit of output. This became possible as a result of technical improvements and production automation carried out in the capitalist way. The trade union also drew the conclusion that since then labor conditions unworthy of man have become even worse.

## Labor Intensification

The present achievements of science and technology are so high that the practical possibility for the full mechanization of the production process has appeared. However, capitalism uses the achievements of scientific and technical progress to increase labor intensification even further, considering such achievements only from the viewpoint of the exploitation of the worker and the finding of new ways for its intensification. Technology, whose purpose is to reduce the outlays of human nervous and physical energy, is subordinated in a capitalist enterprise essentially to the task of intensifying the pace of the work of the individual worker. Therefore, labor intensification at capitalist enterprises is one of the main methods for upgrading production effectiveness.

The authors of the study are convinced that it is precisely labor intensification that leads to a drastic worsening of the health of the working people. Along with physical fatigue the worker develops a number of symptoms of mental depression: the constant fear of losing his job or failure to fulfill the norm, fear of salary reductions, a feeling that he is an appendix to the machine and, finally, inner disgust for the work done for the entrepreneur.

It cannot be said that the owners of big concerns are not alarmed by the increased number of work days lost because of illness. Threatened by lowered profits, they must think of how to improve labor conditions at their enterprises. However, they do this according to the following principle: "the better the labor conditions, the higher its pace." This requirement was clearly expressed, in particular, at a seminar sponsored in 1971 by Phillips, the biggest Dutch concern. "Labor productivity at our enterprise," it was said at the seminar, "is below the one we were expecting. This threatens the production process. At the same time, however, the labor conditions are such as to be described as unworthy of man." We see, therefore, that the measures taken to "humanize" labor have nothing in common with insuring truly human working conditions which are now discussed ever more frequently in the west but which serve merely the creation of new refined forms of capitalist exploitation.

This conclusion is backed by the practice of overtime, widespread at capitalist enterprises, leading to excessive physical stress, illness, and increased number of accidents. For example, the chairman of the Dutch trade union association of tax workers has stated that "we are not against improvements in the labor organization system in the tax service. However, we do not wish to die for it." This dramatic statement was made in connection with the fact that only 50 percent of the tax workers in the country showed up for work, while the others were absent as a result of excessive tiredness or illness.

Fatigue and overtiredness bring about production accidents. An overtired worker continues to work at a high pace afraid of not fulfilling the established norms. In his hurry occasionally he violates safety rules, particularly in correcting errors made in his conveyor belt work.

There are frequent cases in which, in pursuit of profits, the entrepreneurs force the workers to use materials seriously endangering their health. The reason is the desire of the entrepreneur to save on capital investments at the expense of labor safety. The authors of the study describe the tragic consequences of such actions. They cite data of a study of workers' health at a modern printing press conducted by a group of students in Wageningen. Symptoms of poisoning arising from the use of toluene -- a solvent -- developed among the workers of this press. The report drafted by the students states the following: "Production labor conditions are such that only the healthiest and physically strongest workers have remained to work at the press. However, even many among them have begun to complain of exhaustion... The point is that toluene affects fatally the central nervous system, the brain, the lungs, the liver, the kidneys, the eyes, and the gums. Furthermore, it creates symptoms of mental disturbance."

#### Increased Number of Work Days Lost Caused by Illness

In this section the authors discuss some important circumstances on which job related illnesses are based. In this connection they cite a view expressed in K. Marx's "Das Kapital," as follows: "As a result of his transformation into an automated tool in the course of the labor process, the worker is pitted against capital and against dead labor which subordinates to itself the living manpower and wears it out" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch" [Works], Vol 23, p 434).

The use of the latest scientific and technical achievements at capitalist enterprises is paralleled by the adoption of numerous measures to organize the production structure, which include the closing down of a number of factories, plants, and establishments, and entire production sectors. To the worker this means a loss of gained skill and professionalism. We must add to this the constant fear of losing one's job and joining the army of the unemployed. This leads to the following conclusion: the use of the achievements of scientific and technical progress under capitalist conditions leads to the aggravation of social contradictions and harms the interests of the working people. We are faced with a paradox: ideally, the scientific and technical revolution should lead to improvements in living and working conditions. However, the reactionary nature of monopoly capitalism prevents this.

In support of the conclusions the authors cite a number of figures characterizing the situation in The Netherlands: the number of work days lost as a result of illness in the 1950's was about 4 percent; it rose to 8 percent in the beginning of the 1970's. The number of cases of total or partial disability in which, according to Dutch law, disability aid is paid, totaled 50,000 in 1970 compared with 40,000 in 1968. "The army of people who have 'dropped out of the ranks' is growing," wrote in this connection the Dutch newspaper (ALGEMEEN DAGBLAD). "An ever larger number of people retire before the age of 65.<sup>1</sup> This is not

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1. According to Dutch law men retire at 65 and women at 60.

because they have been able to obtain a pension ahead of time but because they have been declared disabled. They are, so to say, combat casualties." The same newspaper cites the following figures: the number of workers in communications who were pensioned off in good health dropped from 35 percent in 1967 to 22 percent in 1969.

Such facts are characteristic of other developed capitalist countries. It has been estimated, for example, that in the FRG 100,000 out of 300,000 people who retire annually could be considered healthy.

In the 19th century industrial development was paralleled by disgusting forms of capitalist exploitation: a 12 to 14 hour work day, use of child labor, and total lack of safety equipment. As a result of the adamant struggle waged by the working class these conditions were eliminated. In our time, however, capitalism is using scientific and technical progress in order to introduce new forms of exploitation. Once again the entrepreneurs sacrifice the health of the people to their selfish interests.

#### Lack of Confidence in the Future

The IPSO study cites examples showing what the capitalist production element is bringing the working people.

Monopolistic expansion, overproduction of commodities, enterprise mergers, and closing down of plants and factories are all subordinated to the capitalist aspiration to earn maximal profits. Even the most modern enterprises could close down any day. In recent years, for example, a number of enterprises of the big Dutch concern VNF were closed down. As a result, many blue and white collar workers became unemployed. This was not because their skill did not satisfy the entrepreneurs. The only factors considered were enterprise profitability and concern profits.

In 1970 there were layoffs at 319 Dutch enterprises (some were closed down while the output of others was curtailed); 13,000 workers were fired. In 1971 something similar occurred at 500 enterprises while the number of layoffs rose to 24,000. The authors of the study emphasize that there were frequent cases of heart attacks or mental disturbances among the dismissed workers.

Here is the statement of the worker laid off as a result of the closing down of the (Verblifa) enterprise: "This was a real catastrophe, particularly for people over 40. Soon afterwards some of them passed away. This is not amazing, since they were forced to start a new life in their old age, something which was not within their forces."

Interviewed by the newspaper (NRK-KHANDELSBAD) Amsterdam neuropathologist (Dil) reported that 10 percent of his patients are victims of the closing down of enterprises, reductions of output, and other economic upheavals.

## Illness Symptoms

Discussing in that section the question of the nature of job-related illnesses, the authors preface it with F. Engels' statement from his "situation of the working class in England": "The forced nature of their work is another source of demoralization for the workers" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch.," Vol 2, p 351).

The IPSO study cites the most typical symptoms of physical and mental deviations noted in the working people. As a rule, this begins with the rapid tiredness, palpitations of the heart, increased pulse beat, nervousness, and irritability. The next stage, as confirmed by patient examinations, consists of the following symptoms of mental deviation: a feeling of spiritual bankruptcy, alienation from the environment, and fear caused particularly by the fact that the person is unable to work any more. Clear depression symptoms appear: the suppressed mood, and a feeling of purposelessness in life. At that stage the physical symptoms include numerous complaints of headaches, poor appetite, stomach and heart pain, and others. As the IPSO study notes, the Dutch public health service does not pay the proper attention to the symptoms of mental illness created by labor conditions at capitalist enterprises. However, the facts prove an increased number of work days lost as a result precisely of mental illnesses. In the past 10 years the number of cases of mental illness in The Netherlands has risen by 23 percent. According to the General Civil Pensions Fund, in 1970 disability among white collar workers caused by mental illness accounted for 38.5 percent, compared with 23.5 percent caused by cardiac and other illnesses.

## Increased Frequency of Illness

"When the farmer," said Mr Ashworth, English cotton manufacturing magnate, instructing Prof Nassau W. Senior, "throws away his spade he freezes for that period of time capital equalling 18 pence. When one of our people (i.e., a factory worker) leaves the factory he makes useless capital worth 100,000 pounds sterling."

"Just think! To render 'useless,' even though for an instant, capital worth 100,000 pounds sterling! This is an outrage, should anyone of our 'people' in general leave the factory!" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch.," Vol 23, p 417).

As we pointed out, today workers are "leaving the factory" ever more frequently because of illness. However, the entrepreneurs who lose because of this tend to consider the fact of the ever growing number of job-related cases of illness a kind of "blossoming illness," a result of the high living standards of the workers. Interviewed by the Dutch weekly (EL'SEFIRS) Phillips vice president (Noordkhof) stated, in particular, that the increased number of work days lost in The Netherlands as a result of illness could be the result of the existence of a well organized social security system and the unhindered payment of money because of temporary

disability. He was seconded by Dr (Khogerzeyl), head of the medical service of this biggest monopoly enterprise. He claimed that "the people no longer know what to do with their prosperity." That same doctor, interviewed by the Dutch newspaper (ALGEMEEN DAGBLAD) stated that according to the "Phillips personnel the people do not show up for work because of the disability law. This is the most important reason."

In connection with such statements, the authors of the IPSO study note that the heads of the Phillips concern are wrongly ignoring the fact of the increased class awareness of the working people both in The Netherlands as well as in the other capitalist countries of Europe, the unification of the ranks of blue and white collar workers, and their awareness of the need to engage in organized actions for the protection of their living standard.

Considering this problem, the biggest Dutch concerns essentially ignore the question of the difficult production conditions harming the human health. What is important to the entrepreneurs is only the result expressed in the quantity of output and the profits. This is the reason. Essentially, the health of the blue and white collar workers does not interest the entrepreneur. The only reason for improving labor conditions, should this happen, is to increase the capitalist's income. The authors note that in this case the class interests of the entrepreneurs are entirely different from those of the workers.

In March 1971 a report was published by the working group of the Association of Netherland Enterprises and The Netherland Christian Association of Entrepreneurs which clearly expressed the viewpoint of the Dutch entrepreneurs on the increased number of work days lost as a result of illness. In this report, as in the statements on the owners of Phillips concern, an attempt is being made to explain the creative situation not by overloading the workers or their lack of confidence in the future but in terms of the "circumstances," "the development of the science of medicine," and so on.

The passages in this report discussing "general social legislation" have a very reactionary tone: "A worker perfectly aware of the fact that missing work as a result of illness will have no financial consequences (or else such consequences would be insignificant) finds it far easier to decide not to show up for work." Thus, we clearly trace in the report the idea that the sick worker should be "deservedly" penalized with a fine. The Dutch National Party for Democracy (VVD) joins the representatives of big capital. Its 1966 statement noted, in particular, that "in itself the way of thinking of the physicians is the reason for the increased number of work days lost as a result of illness... The physicians display excessive liberalism in the examination of the patients."

Let us mention the equivocal position of the medical personnel at the enterprises. The entrepreneur expects of the physician whom he pays to serve "the objectives of the enterprise" or, generally speaking, help in

"keeping the people on the job." Yet the physician's professional ethic does not allow him to ignore the illness of a worker. Therefore, the IPSO work points out, a feeling of dissatisfaction with a dependent position is growing among the medical workers; they are asked to meet the requirements of the entrepreneurs and serve their interests.

Characteristic of The Netherlands as a capitalist country, the authors of the IPSO study emphasize, is the continuing increase in the number of work days lost as a result of illness. This is taking place despite the unemployed in the country.

### Conclusion

The authors emphasize that the length of the working day under present working conditions of capitalist enterprises is excessively high. The entrepreneurs have declared that the increased number of work days lost as a result of illness is a "national problem." However, it is precisely they who are guilty of creating the type of labor conditions which harm the health of the working people, age them prematurely, dull their interest in cultural development, destroy family life, and create lack of confidence in the future. This is characteristic of the majority of the Dutch population. The capitalist and, particularly, the owners of the Phillips and AKZO concerns are inventing ever new methods in an effort to put an end to the increased number of work days lost as a result of illness. They are trying to do everything possible to encourage the working people to consider the objectives of the concern as their own, and to interest them in the production process and its results. However, the authors emphasize, they will not be successful, for the essence of capitalism is for the enterprise owners to take over the results of the work of blue and white collar workers. As long as this situation remains unchanged the worker will be concerned only with his own fate.

Most of the working population, the authors conclude, faces the prospect of becoming the victim of the new technology used by the capitalists.

Capitalism maims the individual, bringing it to the brink of physical exhaustion and moral degradation. This fatal trend is countered by the moral strength of the labor movement, the increased level of class awareness of the working people, and the organization and solidarity of their ranks. The task of the productive forces is to expose the factual relations existing between the antagonistic classes in the bourgeois society and to expose the exploitation methods used by capitalism.

5003

CSO: 1802

## LENINISM AND THE NATIONAL QUESTION UNDER CONTEMPORARY CONDITIONS

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 4, Mar 77 pp 120-122

[Review by G. Starushenko, doctor of juridical sciences, of the book "Leninizm i Natsional'nyy Vopros v Sovremennykh Usloviyakh" [Leninism and the National Question Under Contemporary Conditions], second edition, Politizdat, Moscow, 1974, 598 pages]

[Text] As was noted at the 25th CPSU Congress, the solidarity and friendship among all nations and nationalities in our country are one of the vivid facets of the Soviet way of life and a great accomplishment of socialism, which has become part of the flesh and blood of our reality. This monograph, written by a group of authors (headed by P. N. Fedoseyev), familiar to the reader since its first edition, describes the force and viability of the Leninist theory of nations and national relations and describes the CPSU experience in the solution of the national question and in insuring the blossoming and rapprochement among the nations. We now have the second, expanded edition of this work, expanded in a number of sections, reflecting the new developments introduced by the party, in connection with the 50th anniversary of the founding of the USSR, in the further elaboration of the Leninist theory of nations and national relations, of great importance today, on the eve of the 60th anniversary of the Great October Revolution. The authors have taken carefully into consideration the wishes and critical remarks expressed in the course of the discussion of the first edition by various reader groups and in the press. In particular, the formulation used in determining the concept of nations, and others, has been refined.

The basic views expressed in the first edition have already been discussed in KOMMUNIST (see I. Tsameryan, "Let Us Profoundly Develop Problems of National Relations" (book review, No 12, 1973)). Therefore, we shall discuss a few of the most essential aspects of the second edition.

Presenting Lenin's theory of the national question, the authors direct the attention of the readers above all on those among its aspects of particular importance in understanding and resolving the national problems now facing the CPSU and the fraternal parties, and the progressive forces the world over. Taking into consideration the latest data the authors

cover problems of national relations under socialism and capitalism, the content and methods for the solution of the national problem, the role and place of the national-liberation movement in the world's revolutionary process, and the nature of proletarian internationalism and of bourgeois nationalism, which is its opposite. The authors focus their attention on the blossoming and rapprochement among nations under socialism and on the internationalist education of the working people.

The authors prove that opposite approaches to national problems under capitalism and socialism naturally lead to opposite results.

As the book shows, imperialism remains the main enemy of oppressed nations. This is confirmed by the fact that in a number of capitalist countries relations among nations and nationalities which have lived side by side for centuries are not improving with the passage of time but are becoming aggravated (conflicts between the Flemish and Walloon groups in Belgium, and between English and French Canadians in Canada, the growth of national movements in many areas of Spain and Great Britain, and so on). The national awareness is growing in recently liberated Asian and, particularly, African countries. Processes in the course of which national communities are shaped are under way. Since the new colonizers frequently actively interfere in such processes developing within countries with ethnically and racially different population structures, here again occasionally the national problem becomes particularly aggravated (Nigeria, Pakistan and others). Even in a number of Latin American countries where no rigid racial or ethnic barriers exist there is an increased number of clashes between the population of European origin and the native India population (Bolivia, Ecuador, Mexico and others), or else between the European population and the as yet nonassimilated segment of the Negro population (Brazil).

In an effort to explain the aggravation of national processes under capitalism and to conceal its helplessness in resolving the national question, the bourgeois ideologues claim that a "hostile feeling" toward other nations is inherent in all nations. As long as national and ethnic groups lead an isolated life, they claim, this feeling is not strongly manifested. However, with the intensification of international contacts, characteristic of our time, the bourgeois authors go on to say, the feeling of ethnocentrism is aggravated for which reason, they claim, international and interracial conflicts will become ever more frequent and deeper. The authors substantively reject such claims.

On the basis of V. I. Lenin's conclusion to the effect that as long as capitalism exists democratic changes and, consequently, the solution of the national problem "can be achieved only as an exception and in a partial and distorted manner" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], Vol 27, p 62), the authors explain the growth of national movements in terms of the social nature of capitalism and prove the groundlessness of the theses of bourgeois ideologues on the allegedly inevitable forthcoming

replacement of the struggle for social liberation by nationalism. The latest practical experience in the liberation struggle shows the groundlessness of bourgeois propaganda claims concerning the advent of the "century of nationalism," reasserting the familiar Marxist-Leninist thesis according to which the working people of different races and nationalities neither have nor could have grounds for reciprocal hostility. The tried way for the elimination of such conflicts on national grounds is the unification of the working people regardless of national affiliation in the struggle against all types of oppression and for a progressive social system, for socialism, and for communism. Taking as an example the members of the world's socialist comity, they describe extensively the objective laws and fruitfulness of the unification of the working people of different nations in the struggle for social progress.

In the socialist comity the dynamics of national and international processes is determined, above all, by the general acceleration of social progress under the conditions of the new social system and the cultural and scientific and technical revolution, as well as the systematic activities of ruling communist and worker parties. "Whereas in order to safeguard the capitalist system the imperialists have used the aggravation of national antagonisms, conversely, the socialist world has found in the successful solution of the national problem one of the greatest sources for its strength and power and for the accelerated advancement of the nations on the path to progress" (p 201).

The USSR developed a new historical community -- the Soviet people -- as the great result of the social and economic changes and successful implementation of the Leninist national policy.

As the authors show the determining factors for the rapprochement among nations under the conditions of a multinational socialist state are the powerful unification principles such as a single socialist economy, a single socialist way of life, an internationalist Marxist-Leninist ideology, a common objective -- the building of communism, and the all-national aspiration to strengthen the gains of the Great October Revolution.

The further rapprochement among nations and nationalities in our country is an objective historical process. There is no need whatever to accelerate artificially that which is dictated by the very nature of the socialist way of life, the authors justifiably note. Naturally, it is just as inadmissible to hold back this process, for this would slow down the objective-historical process of international division of social life and harm the building of communism.

The elimination of exploiting classes in our country removed the base on which relations among nations and nationalities could assume an antagonistic nature. It stems from the very nature of the communist system that we do not have the type of nutritive environment in which nationalism and chauvinism usually grow. The most important prerequisite for a successful struggle against all manifestations of the vestiges of bourgeois-nationalist

ideology is the strict observance of principles governing Leninist national policy, concretized by the party in accordance with contemporary conditions in the CPSU Program, the documents of the 24th and 25th CPSU Congresses, and the documents related to the 50th anniversary of the founding of the USSR and the 60th anniversary of the Great October Revolution.

The authors describe proletarian internationalism as the most important principle governing the activities of communist and worker parties in resolving common and specific problems, and as the ideological and political factor which contributes to the unity of action of the working class and the communists in all countries. Particularly emphasizing the importance of proletarian internationalism today, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, CPSU Central Committee General Secretary, said the following at the 25th Party Congress: "We, Soviet comrades, consider the defense of proletarian internationalism the sacred duty of every Marxist-Leninist."

One of the most important conditions for enabling our party to resolve successfully the various problems of the building of communism is the solid mastery by the communists of Marxist-Leninist theory, including the Leninist theory of nations and national relations. Strengthening the patriotic and internationalist awareness of the Soviet people plays a great role in CPSU and party organization activities. In this respect this book is of unquestionable interest to theoretical cadres, propagandists, lecturers, speakers and the party aktiv.

The monograph authors do not contemplate the study of all aspects of this problem. Some of them have been discussed partially and a number of the questions have been merely formulated. Unquestionably, as a whole, the book deserves a positive rating. It is a basic work describing profoundly and thoroughly the nature of the Marxist-Leninist theory of nations, convincingly proving the universal-historical significance of the experience gained by the USSR in resolving the national problem, and the systematic implementation of the Leninist national policy.

5003

CSO: 1802

## STRUGGLE FOR THE REORGANIZATION OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 4, Mar 77 pp 122-124

[Review by Sh. Sanakoyev and N. Shevtsov of the book "Novyy Etap Mezhdunarodnykh Otnosheniy" [New Stage of International Relations), by N. I. Lebedev. Mezhdunarodnyye Otnosheniya, Moscow, 1976, 304 pages]

[Text] The present stage in the development of international relations is noted by the outstanding successes achieved by the socialist states and all peaceloving forces in the struggle for detente and for strengthening universal security. These successes were a decisive prerequisite for the advent of a new stage in relations among countries with different social systems.

The book under review is a study of the main factors which predetermined the beginning of this stage and the determination of its most important features and characteristics.

It is an insurmountable historical fact that the basic break of international relations began with the Great October Socialist Revolution and the appearance of the first socialist state in the world. Inaugurating a new historical era, the October Revolution also gave mankind an entirely new foreign policy which, in terms of class content and nature, and ways and means, is directly opposed to the old bourgeois foreign policy. As a result of the victorious proletarian revolution, the author notes, the Russian working class "took in its hands the state power and pitted its policy of peace against the imperialist policy of war" (p 4). "The end of the war, and the peace among nations, and an end to plunder and violence," V. I. Lenin wrote, "is our ideal precisely..." ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], Vol 26, p 304). This predetermined the sharpness of the confrontation between the socialist and capitalist systems in the world arena. That is why justifiably the author considers the process of reorganization of international relations as inseparably linked with the process of the establishment and development of a new, socialist world and with an intensification of the general crisis of capitalism.

With the establishment of the Soviet Republic the world was able to see how strong and unbreakable were the links between the principles of socialist foreign policy and its practical implementation. A class, a Marxist-Leninist approach to the study of world circumstances and processes occurring in international relations enabled our party and Soviet state accurately to formulate and resolve their foreign political problems and establish accurately their foreign political line.

Our country has always had a clear and systematic foreign political program based on scientific analysis and consideration of all objective and subjective factors governing the development of the international relations. The author emphasizes that such a program of action followed by the Soviet system in the realm of international relations was already formulated in its general line in the Decree on Peace which expressed the idea of a just democratic peace without annexations or reparations. The Decree on Peace was a true manual for action aimed at the implementation of the principles of socialist foreign policy.

Naturally, the author emphasizes, "the foreign policy of the socialist state was always considered by Lenin through the lens of topical and strategic tasks in the universal class struggle" (p 16). Laying the beginning of a policy of peaceful coexistence, our country proceeded from the fact that the assertion of such a policy in the practice of international relations is possible only through the joint efforts of all peaceful antiimperialist forces. In the struggle for peace and for organizing peaceful relations with the capitalist countries our country relied on the international solidarity of the working people. For the first time in history the Decree on Peace promulgated as a basis for state policy a course toward strengthening class solidarity with the toiling masses of other countries, a course imbued with the ideas of proletarian internationalism and aimed at the radical reorganization of international relations.

As the Soviet state developed and as its economic and military power grew and its international prestige strengthened, the tactical methods used in foreign policy and diplomacy changed and became richer. However, the strategical line of the foreign political course -- the struggle for peace and international security, the strengthening of cooperation among countries, and insuring peaceful conditions for the building of a new life -- remained unchanged.

The establishment of the world socialist system marked a major stage in the reorganization of international relations. Relations among socialist countries are radically different from relations among capitalist states. Characteristic of socialist international relations are equal cooperation, and fraternal mutual aid among free and sovereign nations. "Socialist international relations," the author writes, "not only cover intergovernmental relations but, something inconceivable under capitalist conditions, relations among people's masses directly involved in the implementation of the foreign political objectives of their socialist countries" (pp 33-34). The establishment of the world socialist system substantially

influenced the system of international relations as a whole. It proved that socialism represents a real force, that its ideas are gaining an ever greater number of supporters, and that relations with socialist countries can be maintained only on the basis of peaceful coexistence, whether or not this is desired by their enemies.

As a result, gradually the capitalist countries have been forced to amend their tactics toward the socialist states. The author's conclusion that "the new socialist international relations, engaged in constant interaction with capitalist international relations, are having a tremendous influence on the process of democratization of international life as a whole... and on the entire system of relations among countries and on the foreign political practices of all countries" is entirely substantiated (p 35).

The increased power of the socialist comity and the growth of its influence on the international circumstances contributed to the further consolidation of the peace on our planet and the elimination of a number of hotbeds of tension which arose as a result of the aggressive policy of the imperialist countries.

The failure of American intervention against heroic Vietnam convincingly proved that as the international positions of socialism strengthen imperialism weakens. Imperialism is forced to adapt itself to the new conditions and to agree to a restructuring of international relations based on the principles of peaceful coexistence.

One of the main parts of the book deals with CPSU international activities in the 1970's. With the help of numerous examples the author proves the way our party is systematically implementing a peaceful Leninist policy based on scientific analysis of specific events and shifts occurring in international relations, and on the basis of the deployment of class and political forces in the world arena.

The peace program adopted at the 24th CPSU Congress had a tremendous impact on improving the entire political atmosphere in the world and on the solution of a number of major contemporary problems. The author emphasizes that it has become "a factor of tremendous factual significance, making the beginning of the 1970's a turning point in world policies and a new stage in the development of international relations" (p 75).

The program for the further struggle for peace and international cooperation and for the freedom and independence of the peoples, formulated at the 25th CPSU Congress, was the organic extension and development of the peace program, based on a profound understanding of contemporary reality. This program contains the basic tasks whose implementation is required by the contemporary world circumstances, the interests of the peace and security of all nations, and the interests of social progress. At the same time, the very formulation of these problems clearly proves the increased power of the Soviet state and its growing influence on the

course of international developments. Its implementation is inevitably linked with the intensification of detente and the acceleration of the current process of reorganization of international relations. In this respect particular significance is ascribed to the organization of political cooperation among countries belonging to different socio-political systems, a cooperation which has been enriched with new forms in recent years. Thus, the holding of regular bilateral and multilateral political consultations is being established ever more firmly in the practice of relations between capitalist and socialist states. Such consultations have become an effective mechanism for the improvement of international relations. The European Conference on Security and Cooperation is a clear example of how the most complex problems can be resolved through political means and through patient and, occasionally, rather complex and lengthy diplomatic talks. "The developing political cooperation among countries with different social systems in the interest of preventing a world war and settling unresolved or arising international problems through talks," the author states, "must become a stabilizing factor in the world's situation" (p 92).

The consolidation of peaceful relations among countries presumes the systematic implementation of a policy aimed at universal and total disarmament. Successes in this field will determine to a decisive extent the further strengthening of the foundations of universal peace.

The Soviet Union and the fraternal socialist countries have always firmly supported the cessation of the arms race and disarmament. The declaration passed at the November 1976 Conference of the Political Consultative Committee of Warsaw Pact Members, held in Bucharest, in November 1976, emphasized that the socialist countries "are firm enemies of the arms race, proclaiming their desire and willingness actively and constructively to cooperate with all countries in the solution of this important problem facing mankind." The declaration also pointed out that at the present time "real prerequisites exist for reducing weapon stockpiles and insuring a conversion to disarmament."

Under the conditions of detente problems related to the reorganization of international economic relations assume particular significance. Great attention was paid to such matters in the decisions of the 25th Party Congress which stipulated, in particular, that the liberated countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America are beginning to play a particular role in the course of this reorganization. The active participation of the young independent countries in world politics and their growing influence on the formulation of new principles governing international, including economic, relations have become possible thanks to the adamant efforts of the socialist countries undertaken over decades and aimed at establishing among all countries relations of equality, and respect of sovereignty and of the right of self-determination. This strengthens the foundations of the unity between two powerful currents in the world's revolutionary process: the socialist states and the national-liberation movement. "The strengthening unity and solidarity between the developing

countries and the national-liberation movement, on the one hand, and world socialism and the international working class, on the other," the author writes, "is a guarantee for the further successful progress toward the humanistic objectives of a just and democratic peace" (p 204).

The foreign policy of the socialist state "is consistent with the interests of all peoples fighting for freedom and social progress," the author notes (p 207). It largely contributes to their successes in this struggle.

Naturally, the policy of peaceful coexistence and the course toward further detente are countered by imperialist circles who would like to hinder the establishment of relations of peace and business cooperation among countries with different social systems and block the development of the world's revolutionary progress.

These circles misrepresent the meaning, nature and objectives of the foreign policy of the socialist state. In this connection the author criticizes the views of bourgeois ideologues who call for a "firm dialogue with socialism," trying to present detente as being suitable only to the Soviet Union but, allegedly, threatening western security.

Such assertions, the author notes, are entirely inconsistent with the actual situation. In the modern world there is no sensible alternative to detente.

The reorganization of international relations is a complex process. Along with certain progress achieved on a number of matters, many unresolved problems remain. However, the policy of detente has a great future, for it reflects the objective course of historical progress.

The book suffers from repetitiveness, insufficiently clearly formulated views, and other errors of an editorial nature. Despite this, the monograph is a serious attempt at a scientific study of one of the biggest problems of our time -- the radical reorganization of international relations. The author has succeeded in depicting the role of the Soviet Union and the other socialist states in the struggle for a lasting peace and international security. Using specific examples, he has demonstrated the great life-asserting strength of socialist internationalist foreign policy.

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FOLLOWING THE KOMMUNIST ARTICLE 'ON A SOCIO-ECONOMIC ORIENTATION IN THE THEORY OF ARCHITECTURE'

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 4, Mar 77 pp 125-128

[Letters to the editors]

[Text] A Socially Important Problem, by G. Gradov, doctor of architecture, chairman, theory and criticism section, Moscow Organization of the USSR Union of Architects

The Bureau of the Theory and Criticisms Section of the Moscow Organization of the USSR Union of Architects discussed the article by K. Ivanov "On a Socio-Economic Orientation in the Theory of Architecture," published in KOMMUNIST (No 13, 1976). The bureau noted the positive fact that the author raised the question of the inadmissibility of a one-sided understanding of the nature of Soviet architecture, condemning the separation of theoretical elaborations from topical practical problems, and justifiably emphasizing the need for insuring a proper comprehensive socio-economic direction in the elaboration of architectural theory. Emphasizing the importance of aesthetic problems, the author correctly points out "the need for collective efforts to develop, on the methodological foundations of Marxism-Leninism, an overall theory of Soviet architecture which would link together social, economic, technical and aesthetic aspects."

Linking the theory of architecture with the practice of capital construction is consistent with the objective demand of the time -- strengthening the links between science and production, as particularly emphasized by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev in his speech at the October 1976 CPSU Central Committee Plenum. The solution of this problem will determine the success of the nationwide struggle for upgrading effectiveness and quality in all realms of economic activities.

Deeming that the publication of this article in the journal is timely, the Bureau of the Theory and Criticisms Section of the Moscow Organization of the USSR Union of Architects expresses, in turn, its wish to the editors to publish a number of theoretical articles covering various aspects of the factual content, social significance, and prospects for the development of our architecture in the epoch of building a communist society.

The bureau's decision states, among others, that "the contemporary stage of capital construction in the country, characterized by tremendous scales and social significance, requires not only greater work in the field of the theory of Soviet architecture but a more serious reorganization of the entire management of construction and architecture on a truly scientific basis, the complex development of the entire architectural-construction science, and the surmounting of its departmental lack of coordination. All this will enable us to make the fullest possible use of the advantages of the socialist planned economy combined with the achievements of scientific and technical revolution, and will insure the accelerated development of construction -- the most important sector of the national economy. In this connection it has long become necessary to create in the USSR a single scientific architectural-construction sector."

Bearing in mind the existence in creative practice and in theory of a trend toward a one-sided, superficial, and frequently narrow-aesthetic approach to the solution of the major problems of socialist architecture (which hinders the full implementation of the aesthetic function of architecture itself), the Bureau of the Theory and Criticisms Section considers as the most important direction of its activities the struggle against one-sided trends and for a comprehensive understanding of the nature of architecture and its tasks and practices.

Scientific Research in the Labyrinth of Departmental Dissociation, by  
A. Pozhariskiy, deserving RSFSR architect, candidate of architecture

The directival stipulation of the 25th CPSU Congress is to upgrade the quality of construction and the economical nature of architectural solutions and the level of amenities in the building of settlements, residential areas, and urban social centers.

The science of architecture and construction plays a truly great role in the implementation of the tremendous program for industrial, agricultural, public and house construction, as formulated in the historical documents of the congress. In this connection as well the proper organization of scientific research in this field is a particularly important problem.

K. Ivanov is right when he says in his letter that the absence of an overall scientific-theoretical concept of architecture, covering the social, economic, technical and aesthetic aspects, in their unity, determines the lack of coordination among creative forces in molding the material environment of the socialist way of life.

By virtue of its purpose, architecture is exceptionally varied: it ranges from most complicated industrial and scientific research complexes, unique in terms of content and significance, to kindergartens and small apartments.

Let us take as an example the organization of the scientific design of public buildings. Essentially, the system and types of such buildings are the material and technical foundations for most important social processes. This represents the social funds of our country which are a necessary prerequisite for the reproduction of production forces and for insuring the material and spiritual needs of our people.

As we know, socialist planning in all realms of socially useful activities is based on territorial-sectorial principles. In the organization of scientific research and the design of buildings it is consistent with the territorial-functional gradual approach according to which the type of building is determined by the frequency of its utilization, radius of services, amenities, and accessibility. All this is closely linked with the urban building structure (including its graded elements) of our settlements.

About one-third of the 4,000 varieties and types of public buildings is the most widespread, accounting for over 70 percent of capital investments.

With a view to the implementation of a uniform technical policy in the field of civilian housing construction and to the more effective utilization of the results of scientific research, 13 years ago four central scientific research and experimental design institutes (TsNIIEP) to deal with public buildings (schools, medical-resort, and entertainment buildings and sports installations, trade and consumer service buildings, and tourist complexes) were set up within the State Civil Construction System of the USSR Gosstroy. They were entrusted with the elaboration of nomenclatures, norms, and standard designs, including (schoolbuildings) which would insure the complex building of residential areas and urban micro-rays, and urban and rural type settlements.

In recent years, however, substantial changes have taken place in the organization of scientific work on the typology of public buildings, which have had an adverse influence on the quality and effectiveness of research and the application of its results in construction. These changes are the following: small scientific subdivisions of different wage categories for the scientific associates designing public buildings were set up in the design institutes of sectorial ministries and departments.

As the number of such subdivisions increased, the coordinating role of the State Civil Construction declined. The growth of scientific cadres of superior qualification cannot catch up even with the number of heads of such multiplying scientific nuclei. Such a departmental splintering of the structure of the single architectural construction sector has weakened the scientific potential. A number of central and departmental institutes even lacked heads of sectors and senior scientific associates with a candidate of sciences degree. The splintering of scientific subdivisions lacking an experimental base could not fail to affect adversely the entire organization of research and planning. Cadre turnover intensified.

Whereas in the past the Central Scientific Research and Experimental Design Institutes within the State Civil Construction system insured, even though partially, the implementation of a unified architectural construction policy in the construction of public buildings for mass use, in the past 7 to 8 years it "spread" along many narrow departmental directions and a single typology was replaced by a scientific open-field system which naturally resulted, in particular, in work on petty topics, duplication and parallelism, and decline in the scientific and technical standard of designs.

In our view, considering that our country has great positive experience with unified centralized planning, it is wrong to cultivate a narrow sectorial approach to the creation of the material environment, and weaken in this connection the national coordination of action. The appearance of "private" departmental "instructions" violating the uniform urban construction policy, regulating planning and urban construction norms, is totally unjustified and illogical.

The trade and public catering system was separated from the other types of services within the comprehensive system of cultural-consumer services which should have been directed by State Civil Construction, as a result of which it is suggested that commercial centers -- profitable in terms of sale -- should be located not in each microrayon but in overcrowded transportation centers.

In connection with construction norms and rules governing urban planning and construction, approved by the USSR Gosstroy, in the past 10 years approximately 1,000 general city plans have been elaborated and approved. These plans call for a comprehensive graded system of consumer services, beginning with the microrayons of residential areas and ending with entire cities. The same situation prevails with urban type settlements. In accordance with this, the design organizations of executive committees of city and oblast soviets are applying an efficient comprehensive city building structure in developing cities and settlements. At the same time, the rayon and city party committees are doing tremendous organizational work to develop ideological and party work in the basic urban construction element of the city -- the microrayon. It would be pertinent at this point to mention the initiative of the construction workers, launched in 1974 on the initiative of the Orlovskaya Oblast Party Committee. The funds allocated by ministries for the construction of consumer services are focused in the capital construction administration of the city executive committee which organizes their purposeful use. This experience proved to be quite progressive. It enables us to engage in the comprehensive building of microrayons. This is consistent with the objective trends of our time, particularly with the movement for the creation of model socialist microrayons, developed in Moscow. The USSR Gosplan and the Republic gosplans should pay attention to all this.

Against this background the departmental approach adopted to the location of many important cultural-consumer institutions seems strange. The USSR Ministry of Trade is not concerned with coordinating the building of commercial and public catering establishments and of the most widespread facilities for consumer services with urban planning and construction regulations. The USSR Ministry of Culture, the AUCCTU and other departments and organizations indifferently look at the fact that tens of thousands of public organizations, and hundreds of thousands of circles and sports sections of housing operation and management offices are located primarily in the first floors of residential buildings and semibasements. Pharmacies, savings banks, laundry reception centers, children's dairy distribution kitchens, post offices and other establishments are scattered among the lower floors of house buildings. This is expensive and inconvenient both to the population as well as the normal functioning of such "built-in" establishments. It would be expedient to build the social centers of microrayons in accordance with the cooperation principle elaborated by the Soviet science of architecture. A cooperated building should become the cultural-consumer and ideological center of the microrayons. We have practical experience in the building of such social centers. Some 300 of them have been built in the country. They have been fully justified. However, a great deal of confusion exists caused by the departmental lack of coordination in architectural construction work, regardless of the principle of purposefully controlling the shaping of the urban material environment.

Many positive results have been achieved in developing the typology of public buildings by the central scientific design institutes of the State Civil Construction of the USSR Gosstroy. However, such successes would have been far more significant with a better organization of scientific research aimed at resolving vital urban construction problems in accordance with the nature and advantages of our socialist system and the objective trends in the development of socialist population settlement.

We would like to draw the attention of the USSR Council of Ministers State Committee for Science and Technology to this matter. Scientific research in the field of typology of public buildings needs not only a better organization, planning and management, but a scientific experimental base as good as that of the academic and industrial scientific research institute. The application of the scientific experimental development of architects in construction should be given the same support as other national economic sectors.

The complexity of construction on the microrayon level based on structural centralization (housing, education, trade, culture, communal and household services, and so on), focusing such construction in the hands of a single client (the executive committee of the city soviet), with the active participation of all departments building establishments in a given microrayon would be, in our view, the way for achieving a truly effective development of the material environment of the city.

We believe that the time has come for the USSR Gosstroy to set up an intersectorial coordination and scientific factor for the development of architectural construction sciences covering the most important sections: theory and history of architecture, urban construction and socialist settlement, and typology of industrial, public, residential, and agricultural buildings and systems. In this connection, the USSR Union of Architects and the construction and architecture periodical press should actively join the struggle against departmental barriers.

A Complex Approach Is Demanded by Life, by G. Prozorovskiy, candidate of technical sciences, director of the TsNIIEP for rural construction

The theory of architecture must be considered together with various aspects of architectural-construction activities as satisfying the requirements of the client, creating working conditions for the contractor, and meeting the requirements based on an all-around understanding of architecture. Naturally, these are various tasks and, to a certain extent, conflicting ones. Therefore, K. Ivanov, the author of the letter, is right when he directs the attention to the need for their comprehensive solution on the basis of the socio-economic nature of architecture.

Let us cite several specific examples in the field of rural construction.

By necessity, progressive practice in agricultural development led to interfarm cooperation with the specialization of individual farms in specific production sectors. This represents a considerable consolidation of individual kolkhozes and sovkhoses, and the creation of agricultural associations on the scale of a rayon or, for example, of a small republic such as the Moldavian SSR. Essentially, this appears as a new stage in agricultural collectivization on the path to the elimination of the major disparities between town and country. Unquestionably, architectural theory, followed by architectural practice, must be consistent with such a scale of economic development and settlement and with the new client requirements.

Today the construction workers must increase their output without increasing the number of workers, i.e., they must achieve this only by increasing labor productivity. Therefore, the principle of prefabricated buildings is not a contractor's claim but an objective law in the development of public production and the solution of social problems. We believe that resolving the problem of upgrading labor productivity and other topical problems facing architecture is no simple matter, for it must combine conflicting requirements. This makes the comprehensive solution even more important.

Today most of the rural buildings are for production purposes. They frequently account for one-half of the area of new settlements. Whereas in such settlements the architectural expressiveness of housing-civic projects is more or less successful, so far industrial projects have been ignored by the architect. Once again, the trouble is that there is no comprehensive approach in architectural-construction work.

Architectural theory must help to resolve a number of most general and complex problems which have been discussed for a number of years and without whose solution neither architecture nor construction could develop successfully. For example, new structures and materials, even though less expensive than old ones, are not used because the planning of construction output is based on gross output and conversion to a lesser cost would mean the nonfulfillment of the plan. The construction workers have become used to this. However, the architects have no right to develop such a habit. They must work for plan improvements.

A purely psychological obstacle exists on the path of the new materials as well. The clients such as, for example, the Main Capital Construction Administration of the USSR Ministry of Agriculture, has not become used to new asbestos-cement, glued wooden and some other effective structures, for which reason it refuses to use them. Having set up facilities for the production of such structures, the construction workers are unable to use them. In such a conflicting situation the comprehensive approach on the part of the theory of architecture would enable us to resolve both this problem and similar complex problems.

From the editors:

K. Ivanov's letter created a great deal of interest among the readers of KOMMUNIST. Publishing some of the answers, the editors deem it necessary to resume the discussion of these questions. The editors also hope that interested ministries and departments as well will express their views.

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#### NOTE

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